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ABSTRACT

The following 11 papers were presented at a symposium on leadership and educational policy studies (LEPS): "Food, Filth, Factory, and Flowers: A Critical Analysis of Ohio's Employability Skills Project" (Nina Dorsch); "Defining and Restructuring Work: Implications for Adult Education" (Georges B. Germain); "The Erosion of Subsistence and Motherwork" (Mechthild Hart); "Struggling for Democratic Educational Practices: The Adult Learning Skills Program and the Campaign To Stop the Focus on Quality Policy" (John Holst); "Work, Adult Education, and Sites of Resistance" (Winston Lawrence); "Who Should Pay To Learn? A Critical Assessment of the World Bank's Neoliberal Education Policies" (Derek Mulenga); "On Trial: The Legal Basis and Role of Education in the New European Union" (Mark Murphy); "Organizational Learning and Control: A Critical Examination of HRD [Human Resource Development] and the Politics of Workplace Discipline" (Fred Schied); "Traditional versus 'New' Education: The Problem Defined" (Richard Louis Sorrentino); "Corporatizing Work, Education, and Democracy within Postmodern Praxis" (Sherman Stanage); "Rural People, Rural Communities, and Sustainability: Rethinking the Role of Adult Education" (Jeff Zacharakis-Jutz). (KC)

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Selected Papers from the Fifth Annual LEPS Research Symposium: Critical Perspectives

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Department of Leadership and Educational Policy Studies

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Papers presented at the Fifth Annual
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Food, Filth, Factory and Flowers: A Critical Analysis of Ohio's Employability Skills Project

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> In the occupational arena . . . many students with disabilities become employed in jobs often described . . . as the four Fs --- food, filth, factory, and flowers. (Abeson, 1991, p. 2)

During the 1980s the special education community became concerned about the effectiveness of the educational programs created in the landmark legislation (P.L. 94-142) of the preceding decade. In 1983, a National Longitudinal Transition Study of Special Education Students (NLTS) was mandated to provide information regarding the transition of youth with disabilities from secondary school to the world of adulthood and work.

The NLTS report (1991) was entitled "Youth with Disabilities: How Are They Doing?" The report's response to this query was discouraging. The effect of such one to discomfiting data can be seen at the federal level in the passage of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act of 1990, particularly in its requirements for transition planning and services. The concern for NLTS findings can also be seen at the state level with the development of the Ohio Employability Skills Project (ESP). The Employability Skills Project represents one state's policy initiative in the area of school-to-work transition for youth with disabilities. The purpose of this paper is to engage in a critical analysis of Ohio's initiative, thereby probing the project's potential to ameliorate the disquieting NLTS findings.

Methodology

As a critical analysis of a policy initiative, this paper draws upon several data sources. Central to the analysis are Ohio's Employability Skills Project manual (1989) and the National Longitudinal Transition Study report (1991). To inform an understanding of these two documents, artifacts and observations were gathered at a statewide conference held in May, 1992, and at an Employability Skills Project workshop conducted by the project's coordinator in early 1990. The constructs, statements, models, and metaphors embedded within these sources constitute a discourse-practice.

Cleo Cherryholmes (1988) advances critical pragmatism as a mode of analyzing discourse-practice. This strategy poses questions which deconstruct the discourse to reveal its underlying (and often unquestioned) power relations. Through such rethinking, Cherryholmes asserts, "our ability to shape and design the social world can be enhanced" (p. 177). Thus the following questions are pertinent to a critical analysis of the Employability Skills Project:

- What conditions influence the project's discourse-practice?
- Who speaks and who is silent?

- Which constructs, statements, models, metaphors, descriptions, and explanations are privileged within the project?

Summary of the critical analysis

Despite its generally discouraging findings, the NLTS report pointed to factors that affected economic outcomes positively as demographic and disability variables were controlled.

> NLTS findings support the importance of young people's . . . accepting and internalizing social values and norms, and learning social skills and behaviors that will enable them to have positive experiences in social organizations. (Wagner, 1991, pp. S-15).

This conclusion echoes the five sets of worker characteristics that Bowles and Gintis (1972) suggest are integral to the stratification process that determines economic success in a capitalist society. These worker attributes are: (1) cognitive attributes, including technical and operational skills; (2) personality traits, such as motivation, perseverance, docility or dominance; (3) modes of self-presentation, such as speech, dress, and peer affiliation; (4) ascriptive characteristics of race, sex and age; and (5) credentials such as level and prestige of education. It is precisely these sets of characteristics with which the Employability Skills Project became concerned.

Ohio's Employability Skills Project began with the recognition of a problem:

> That despite our best efforts, special education students are often moved through the educational system, landing on the doorstep of a vocational instructor or work-study coordinator, without ever having developed the set of employability skills needed for meaningful job-skill training or employment. (Ohio's Employability Skills Project, 1989, p. 9)

In other words, the special education system had not been addressing all of the worker characteristics Bowles and Gintis associate with economic independence. As NLTS findings revealed, handicapped youth who did not develop the personality traits and self-presentation modes requisite for economic success did not experience educational success either. Consequently, a disproportionate dropout rate sealed the economic fate of many disabled youth.

The Employability Skills Project attempted to ameliorate this inadequate educational experience by providing a mechanism for addressing the development of personality traits and modes of self-presentation employers desire--what ESP calls critical employability skills. As the project handbook points out, the first step in improving the outlook for youth with disabilities is "for parents and educators to learn to look at student behavior--at all ages and levels of ability--through the eyes of an employer." (p. 13) So in defining these critical employability skills, ESP looked to an Ohio Council on Vocational Education survey of Ohio employers conducted in 1986.

The Ohio survey first asked employers to enumerate qualities sought in job applicants. The following were included among the ten most-mentioned qualities: positive work attitude, people skills, speaking, appearance, and personal life skills. Even more illuminating, and clearly

reflective of Bowles and Gintis's rationale for their centrality in hiring criteria for a capitalist hierarchy, were the qualities included in survey responses to the question "How does an employee show evidence of a positive work attitude?"

Typical descriptive responses included:

> Interested, motivated, enthusiastic, cooperative; willing to do extra work if necessary; willing to work extra time; willing to accept the way the company does things; never says something won't work; keeps working for a solution; accepts assignments pleasantly. (Ohio Council on Vocational Education, 1986, p. 3).

Explicitly acknowledging the role and significance of the business voice within the project, and adopting a stance that might be termed utilitarian, ESP was predicated on the postulate that:

> Without employability skills, successful transition is impossible. As educators, we can and must teach those employability skills that lead to independence . . . The purpose of Ohio's Employability Skills project is to assist educators in meeting the changing needs of business and industry by preparing students for independence as successful adults. (Ohio's Employability Skills Project, 1989, p. 9).

For the Ohio Employability Skills Project, employability skills were those behaviors and attitudes which had been identified as essential for obtaining employment and attaining success in the workplace. ESP explained that while these kinds of skills are often learned incidentally through observation and general transference in the general population of youth, special education students require "more comprehensive programming" in the form of direct, deliberate instruction in such positively valued habits and attitudes. Accordingly, the ESP handbook declared the project's goal:

> Teachers, working closely with parents, will teach employability skills deliberately and systematically to all special education students --- beginning at the preschool level and continuing through high school. (p. 11)

To achieve this goal, the project developed a comprehensive set of critical employability skills (24 in number), examples of practical instructional activities for teaching the skills, and an informal assessment of student skills. All of these products were intended and designed to be infused into existing curricula.

The Employability/Life Skills Assessment (ELSA), an informal instrument designed to profile a student's strengths and weaknesses in each of the critical employability skills areas, was made available in both parents and teacher forms for student age groups 6-13 years and 14-21 years. ELSA served as the needs assessment which guided the project's instructional component.

ESP depicted the development of instructional activities as an infusion process. Steps within this process, as outlined in the ESP Handbook and explained at ESP workshops, involve choosing an existing curricular outcome, choosing an employability skills outcome, and developing an instructional objective that combines both outcomes. In developing these infused objectives, the

handbook urged educators to:

> Emphasize action over seatwork, to require doing by the students using active participation and motivating teaching strategies whenever possible . . . Activities that are developed should demand student behaviors that are observable. Standards for student behaviors are dependent on individual student needs and abilities and the setting. However, the expectations and standards demanded by the workplace--where these outcomes will eventually be operationalized--should be actively kept in mind. (p. 14)

For ESP it is the employer who identifies the critical employability skills and who serves as the arbiter of success in their acquisition by disabled youth. Yet employers have historically expressed reluctance to hire the disabled under any circumstances. Moreover, such discriminatory attitudes and practices are culture-bound and slow to change (D'Amico, 1991). The Ohio Employability Skills Project is caught on the horns of a dilemma. Empowering disabled youth requires that they learn to play the game by the employers' rules. But playing by the rules offers no guarantee that the player will win. Yet not knowing the rules and playing by them assures that disabled youth will remain in their marginalized position. Whether youth with disabilities will be able to move beyond marginalization is a question that requires special education to recognize this contradictory position.

Through such recognition, Simon (1983) argues, a resistance to the dynamics of social reproduction may arise. Teachers may then offer not only the realities of the skills demanded by the workplace, but also a sense of "why work is organized the way it is and how such organization affects the thoughts and feelings of those within it (p. 255). Overlaying the perspective of critical pragmatism offers what Simon (1983) calls "counter-hegemonic possibilities"; possibilities those implementing Ohio's Employability Skills Project must recognize if youth with disabilities are to move beyond food, filth, factory, and flowers.

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Defining and Restructuring Work: Implications for Adult Education

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Defining and restructuring work

> It is impossible to talk or write about work, or the relationship between education and work, without taking notice of the current dramatic shifts and changes affecting the organization and distribution of work, and the nature and actual content of work and work-related skills, knowledge and experiences (Hart, 1992, p. 1).

I want to argue there exist two divergent and prevalent views of work. One is that of "work as it should be", and the other of "work as it is." The first tends to depict work as a universal endeavor, pluri-potential and multidimensional, transcending the relationship between human beings and cementing our covenant with nature and the environment. Work as it should be, is transformative and enriching. It is a medium for socialization and exchange, and for the translation of our feelings and creativity into reality.

Opposing this semi-utopic vision is the current contemporary view of a world where the "attitudes to work, productivity, progress and economic growth are ultimately destructive to people and the environment" (Hart 1992, preface, n.p.). In this new context, work is inscribed into a new language unchecked against an ethical standard. The new nomenclature of work that emerges from this work culture is unquestioned, normative, and proper. Relations of domination and hierarchical positions are expressed in categories of "essential vs. non essential work," "part time vs. full time." Technology takes primacy over humans to justify "downsizing." Efficiency leads to "right sizing." Today, **productivity** is the magic work, the new god, the ultimate.

My thesis is that we are entering a new millennium. We are witnessing a world in crisis which has entertained a vocabulary of uncertainty, grounded into proposed reforms and changes, rearranged priorities. We now have a "rejuvenated" world in which the relations of power and domination have been translated into a politics of **globalism**.

Paradoxically, it is the kind of globalism that shatters the whole and sends the split fractions in opposite directions. It has given birth to transnational spaces and corporations, global capitalism, markets, and high-tech information superhighways. The same globalism in turn has helped to swell the ranks of the "underclass" and accentuate what Mbilinyi (forthcoming) has presented as the challenges of modern society: unequal structures of communication, imperial domination, authoritarian rule at household, sexism, racism, ethnic cleansing, the growing power of big business and heightened exploitation of workers worldwide.

I believe that the legitimization of this world order/work order is antithetical and registers negatively in our collective consciousness. As adult educators and leaders in education, we are challenged to unearth the defects by questioning this order. As suggested by Mechthild Hart

(1992) "the question of how we should work is also the question of how we should live." (p. 201).

To this effect, I propose to define work and to frame it in its social, cultural, politico-economic and philosophical context.

What is work?

The earliest mention of work can be found in the Bible. In Genesis chapter 2, verse 15, it reads: "And the Lord God took the man [and woman] and put him [and her] into the garden of Eden to dress it and keep it". In chapter 3, verse 19, it reads: "in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return into the ground. . . " These verses illustrate the perfect and symbiotic relationship between humans and nature. The disobedience and the fall altered this harmony by establishing a relation of domination and power between a creator and created; by casting work as a penance for waywardness; by affirming the subjugation of the woman; and legitimizing the first sexist division of labor.

I want to argue that there are an infinity of ways to define work. One may frame work according to the object of labor - carpenter, engineer, artist, soldier, economist, doctor, politician - or according to the subject-man, woman, child, and immigrant. One may again define work according to: class - blue collar, white collar workers; status- the working poor, the corporate officer; sovereignty - state employee, civil servant, federal employee; temporality - part time, full time, day shift, night shift; importance; essential and non essential; and will - voluntary and slavery. And which ever way one chooses to define work, fortunes will be different because work is socially constructed. In fact, work animates the multiple realities, ideologies, cultures and practices of every member of society and the place where one stands on the scale of life will illuminate our vision of work. One may then pose the following questions: How do blacks and whites view work? How do the rich and the poor perceive work? How do young and old organize work? I recognize that I have described the scene in binary terms and polarized my conceptualization of the world but I want to stand by my claim and using a critical theoretical approach argue the history of work is a long haul of imperialism, racism, sexism, and classism.

I have elected to elaborate first on work in the racial context. In the April 1995 issue of The Progressive, in the comment section the importance of race is stressed under these terms:

> Race is still the great divide in this country, even now, 130 years after the civil war and forty years after Brown v. Board of Education, and thirty years after the major civil-rights laws were passed (p. 10).

Indeed America has an obsession with race which has become engrained in the psyche of its people. I see today two different Americas, a white America and a black America with differences that are much more than morphologic. The memories and experiences of these two Americas are totally different. White America is the country of the conquistador; the white man thinks like the owner, the creator. Black America is a displaced, transplanted America; the black man feels unwelcome in a land of denied opportunity and broken dreams.

The individual identities and behaviors of these two actors were differently shaped and reinforced. The black man was never considered as a true member of society. "Even today the prototype of the true member of society is the white male, adult worker, earning a family wage in a stable long-term job" (Hart, 1992, p. 97). This translates into the following realities: white men remain the single most advantaged group in this society. Whites in general are getting ahead, blacks are just running in place. The real income of African-American families in 1993 has not changed since 1969, while for whites it has gone up 8 percent (The Progressive, April 1995).

For blacks and other minorities, the reality of work in 1995 is framed within a discourse of struggle for legitimacy. This struggle translates into:

(a) a black freedom movement with one of its expressions in the controversial and powerful Million Man March.
(b) the attempt by the white establishment at redefining affirmative action which has been described as the "most significant anti-discrimination effort since Reconstruction."
(c) the creation by the media of "angry white men" and the politics of denial launched by conservatives using the voice of persons such as D'Souza to promote and legitimize their white supremacist views.
(d) The assaults on the welfare system. "Race is the unacknowledged obsession of the welfare reformers. They fear, and hope to extirpate if they cannot change what they see as black patterns of illegitimacy and disrespect for traditional standards of sexual behavior, lifestyle and work ethic" (The Nation, April 3, 1995, p. 156).

Work and Gender

I will discuss this aspect by opening up this space to the women and letting them carry out the debates themselves. Anastasia Posadskaya, one of the founders of the Moscow Gender Studies Center, during the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, enunciated the challenges that women face. She states:

> There is an increasing violence against women, brought about by market "reform": sexual harassment in the work place, sexual exploitation of young women, street violence, growing domestic violence, unheard of violence against older women with the goal of seizing their privatized homes. Then there are deepening problems of reproductive health and reproductive rights, particularly the limiting of access to free assistance, including for childbirth and abortion (The Nation, September 11, 1995, p. 24).

Some statistical facts worth mentioning:

> Women represent 70 percent of the 1.3 billion people living in poverty.
>
> Women work remains grossly underpaid, unrecognized and undervalued, on the order of 11 trillion dollars a year, an invisible contribution of women to the global economy.

> Women work an average of 13 percent more hours than men in every country (The Nation, September 11, 1995, p. 234).

Mechthild Hart (1992) encapsulates her concept "feminization of poverty" into this statistical mnemonic 50/30 60/10 which details as follows:

> Women represent 50% of the adult world population and one third of the official labor force, they perform for nearly two third of all working hours for which they receive only one tenth of the world income: but they own less than one percent of the world property. (p. 204).

The ideological corollary, in a market society in which the members are gauged by their wealth is, that women are socially worthless, and since work is directly related to buying power and the position held in society, women are defacto considered subaltern and powerless. In fact today,

> The percentage of women as parliamentarians, globally, has not changed much in twenty years (1975: 6, 8 percent; 1987: 9, 7 percent, 1993: 8, 8 percent), and in 1994 only eight countries were close to having 30 percent of their decision-makers as women. At 30 percent, women start to have a visible impact on the style and content of political decision (The Nation, September 11, 1995, p. 234).

The position of women in the world economy as subsistence workers is quite evident especially in the Third World.

> In many African countries women account for more than 60 percent of the agricultural labor force and contribute up to 80 percent of the total food production (The Nation, September 11, 1995, p. 234).

This occupational segregation is probably best understood by an analysis of the capitalist mode of production which divides labor into two separate distinct categories: subsistence production and commodity production. From the outset, subsistence production was delegated to women while commodity production remained in the domain of men. Subsistence labor which includes all work activities oriented toward sexual, psychological and physical well-being, was soon assigned to the private sphere while commodity production became part of the public sphere. The process of subordinating subsistence production to commodity production was a way to deny women their full participation in the overall process, to devalue their work and assume control over their destiny. According to Hart,

> the most intimate aspects of women's lives, especially their sexuality and child bearing capacity are highly controlled through the institution of marriage, general social control (medical, legal, political) supports and sanctions direct personal control (husbands, fathers, brothers, sons). (p. 98)

That women's work as subsistence producers is further equated to cheap unwaged labor with the expectation of additional unpaid labor, is evident today in the behavior of the world health market. In the drive for profit, women are barely allowed a hospital stay of less than twenty-four hours after the delivery of the "product" of their conception. Moreover, a non-paid maternity

leave had to be enacted (and some say exacted) to protect the new mother against the loss of her job. Paternity leave, however, was easily made available for those who could afford it: the men in the corporate world.

Imperialism and Work

Recent technological advances along with the restructuring of the global economy have brought to the forefront the central role of imperialism in defining and shaping the nature of work relations. Imperialism has been defined as the "process of capitalist accumulation" on a world scale and has been shown to be responsible for the reproduction of the social division of labor as well as other forms of social divisions such as gender, class, race and ethnicity (Youngman, forthcoming).

Youngman and others have also suggested that a political economy approach be used to understand the relationship of work in a capitalist society. It has been advanced that the capitalist society uses a system of reward and penalty for those who succeed or fail respectively. In such a system, a competitive edge is built in with an obsession toward winning at all costs. Productivity becomes an altar where the goddess sings only a hymn of "learning for earning."

If we begin to interrogate the meaning of work from a humanistic perspective, it will become evident that work will be oriented toward the fulfillment of our basic physical, emotional and societal needs. By being part of a democratic and just society we can expect both individually and collectively to contribute our share and enjoy the return of our investment under the form of good shelter, good health, and security. Has our society met our expectations under the capitalistic mode of production? In his book Straight from the Heart, Jesse Jackson (1979) states:

> America was built on five economic and social pillars. These five pillars were (1) cheap labor (2) cheap energy (3) cheap raw materials (4) an exploited labor market divided on the ideology of race or skin worship and (5) explosive exports (p. 49).

Jackson's socioeconomic pillars can at best be conceptualized by what Saskia Sassen (1988) has described in her book, The Mobility of Labor and Capital, as a "transnational space" which functions as a modulator of international trade by consolidating the world economy. This transnational space regulates work and life within the capitalist economic system. In fact Sassen declares that "within this transnational space the circulation of workers can be regarded as one of the several flows including capital, goods, services, and information" (p. 3).

If one were to incorporate Jackson's pillars into this transnational space, one would easily understand what has become of work in today's America. Work in today's America can be subsumed within two words: cheap and unpredictable. Let me elaborate on these two words:

a) The cheapening of labor
   Traditionally, the American worker was viewed by the rest of the world as the consummate worker. The American worker was conceptualized as a man who worked hard, earned a decent living and stood at the core of the American dream: he owned a home (preferably in the suburbs); housed his wife, sent his two to three children to decent

school, drove a respectable "made in America" car, enjoyed the best medical care and retired securely at the end of twenty to twenty-five years of labor to await death in the company of two to three grand children. Today the American dream is shattered; the pieces are disorderly orbiting within the transnational space. The transnational space lives by "maximization" and "profit" and accomplishes its goal by various means.

1. The transnational corporations create international conditions favorable to the development of cheap labor.

   a) Through the application aboard of structural adjustment programs, the development and multiplication of export-based industries, the creation of power investment zones, there is a growing force to destabilize the economies of the countries from the South, devalue the cost of their labor and increase the pool of cheap work available for emigration.
   b) The American worker is just becoming aware of the consequences of the international cheapening of labor. Multinationals in their pursuit of cheap labor move their corporations overseas. This vacuum creates a high unemployment rate in the country of origin that tends to drive the cost of labor down (law of supply and demand). Organized labor making use of the democratic means offered by this "free market" society, exerts its rights to strike and mobilize sit-ins and boycotts. These measures have remained for the most part ineffective and have resulted in massive lay offs, plant closings, and an insidious restructuring of the work force by the transnational corporations.

2. This restructuring of work reactions has utilized insidious and effective methods to make the worker docile. Thus, in the name of

   a) effectiveness and competitiveness, corporations have made use of technology to help them "right size" and "down size" their operations.
   b) competitiveness, companies have changed the status of their work force by creating new nomenclatures "part time," "full time," "temporary" to help them deny appropriate costly benefits to their workers.
   c) competitiveness, the transnationals have contributed to the destruction of the environment and have exposed the workers to hazardous environment and unsafe working conditions.
   d) nationalism, the corporations have created a xenophobic atmosphere by facilitating the use of immigrant workers to replace the American worker in non attractive jobs.
   e) effectiveness and competitiveness, corporations have used technological advances to robotize and automatize many of their operations. As a result both skilled and unskilled workers are laid off.
   f) economic effectiveness and competitiveness, companies have changed the status of their work force by "part timing," "full timing," and "temporarizing," a nomenclature that hides their intentions to save money by denying the worker intrinsic benefits such as a health insurance, vacation time, and pension security.

g) effectiveness and patriotism, corporations have lobbied congress to pass laws that "redline" the illegal immigrant, while they continue to use them in sweat shops and in hazardous jobs not wanted by the American worker.

h) effectiveness and competitiveness, corporations have used regional economic depressions to devitalize natural resources and create dangerous global environmental conditions such as the destruction of rainforests, the depletion of the ozone layers, the exposure to deleterious industrial pollutants.

i) effectiveness and competitiveness, corporations have used the weight of their economic power to influence educational policies that favor the human capital work paradigm.

Today the meaning of work can best be recounted in multiple vignettes that bring to the forefront the worker who, instead of being the beneficiary of work, has become the sacrificial grease of the global working machine:

- A forty-five year old worker let go by his company after 28 years of dedicated service without any retirement or health benefits.
- the countless number of women still denied payment for the subsistence work they perform for the benefit of society.

Work, the Educative Endeavor

How does knowledge articulate with the economy? In a way, the answer appears quite simple. Obviously, knowledge derives from our learning processes. We were told very early in life that the learning phenomenon takes place in the schools but experience has taught us that learning takes place everywhere and anywhere. This logical line brings us to ask the question: What do schools do?

In his book, Education and Power, Michael Apple (1995) looks at schools in two ways, either as producers or as distributors of knowledge. He frames these two facets of the knowledge process into two theories: the human capital theory and the allocation theory. The human capital theory claims that schools maximize the distribution of administrative and technical knowledge and as such help students acquire skills and expertise to allow them to move up the ladder to better occupations. the human capital theory is essential for the steady supply of well trained workers in an ever expanding economy. The allocation theory does not contribute to achieving class mobility but acts as a triaging device to assign the individual his or her proper place within the hierarchical division of labor.

Apple further argues that the division of schools into productive and distributive institutions sheds a light into the social division of labor into mental and manual work. The students who are able to produce significant quantities of technical language will be assigned to the mental side of this equation.

Today education is being more and more integrated into the "rightist" project if economic competitiveness and rationalization. The social democratic agenda of the post World War II era with its supporters- minorities, activists, liberal legislators- no longer seems to hold a position of

power. Their progressively silenced demands are taken over by conservative intellectuals, hard line congress people. the religious right, that are more interested in establishing international competitiveness and returning to "family values" and ultra-conservative ideologies.

The restructuring of the educative agenda is based on the perception by the conservative right that most things wrong with the economy originated within the schools which have failed to educate their homo economics in line with the international demands for America to keep its hegemonic stature in the council of nations. The contract with America has drawn a line in the sand and divided the educative endeavor along the battle lines of "public" and "private", public being evil, private being good.

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The Erosion of Subsistence and Motherwork

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In this paper I will briefly lay out the theoretical framework for the main concepts of "subsistence" and "motherwork." I will then discuss how the raising of children in Chicago's segregated public housing requires tremendous courage and abilities from the mothers, and a slow, painful, but continuous learning process.

Beginning with my work that started in the 1970s, most of it resulting in main parts of Working and Educating for Life (1992), I have been pursuing the notions of subsistence work and subsistence production. They refer primarily to work and production that is not officially acknowledged by an economic system which considers wage labor and commodity production primary, progressive, and therefore "real" economic forms. The terms subsistence work and subsistence production are rooted in the European Marxist intellectual tradition. This tradition has been severely criticized by feminist sociologists who retained the concepts but redefined their meanings by making visible those important dimensions which were ignored by patriarchal, Western beliefs in progress and which development Marxists shared with mainstream thinkers (Hart, 1992, Mies, 1987, Mies & Shiva, 1993, Shiva, 1989).

Subsistence Work and Unsustainable Development

The essential meaning of subsistence work is affirmation of life. While this can take on many different forms, from growing food for the family on a small plot of land to caring for children or aging parents, its main orientation is towards creating and sustaining life, not making profit or accumulating capital as in commodity production. While the terms subsistence work or production are very precise when seen within a concrete, specific analytical context, in the United States they imply something mostly negative. Instead of emphasizing the positive and often utopian aspect of affirming life in all its forms, these terms connote something like barely struggling for survival. This connotation is somewhat unfortunate as it does not include the originally primarily positive, life-affirming aspects of an intricate blending of the economic and social-cultural aspects of work and production. However, when subsistence economies and subsistence work became subsumed under commodity production, became more and more appropriated and exploited (in order to keep the wage economy profitable), the element of truth contained in the American connotation of subsistence is now looming so large that it has become the truth itself.

Under the current conditions of our world capitalist system the notion and reality of subsistence work has undergone devastating changes. Today, there are three main dimensions of subsistence work and production which are entirely shaped or most detrimentally affected by "advanced" world capitalism: It is the ongoing destruction of what is left of the subsistence economies of indigenous populations, the "unsustainable contradiction" of "being an unwaged worker in a wage economy" which gives women all over the world almost exclusive responsibility for raising

children, and "the question of the Earth" in light of increasingly irreversible environmental devastations (Dalla Costa 1995b, p. 11 and p. 14; see also Mies, 1987, and Mies & Shiva 1993). Seen from a global perspective, in the majority of cases the conditions of subsistence work have been damaged or destroyed to an extent that the term itself is more accurately replaced by the term survival work--just doing everything to barely stay alive (Mies & Shiva, 1993). As Dalla Costa so vividly describes throughout her essay on "Development and Reproduction" (1995b),"*from the human viewpoint, capitalist development has always been unsustainable* since it has assumed from the start, and continues to assume, extermination and hunger for an increasingly large part of humanity" (p. 15). If we place any effort of staying alive in the context of despondency and violence, the hope-inspiring, life-affirming essence of subsistence labor is vanishing.

Blaming the Victim

Current discussions on work and the "work crisis" are more concerned with the continuous restructuring and restratification of the global working class. As Dalla Costa points out,

> today as five centuries ago, this will be the fate of only a small part of the population: those who can will find employment in the sweat shops of the Third World or the countries they emigrate to. The others will be faced solely by the prospect of death by hunger (1995b, p. 15).

Because the whole notion and reality of economic development is dependent on superexploiting the earth and as many living beings as possible the continuous erosion and destruction of our very survival base needs to be legitimized. Poverty and hunger are attributed to a combination of cultural deficiencies, a lack of progress or backwardness, and therefore being not-yet-developed.

But this is only one side of the powerful capitalist ideology that blames the victim for hunger and poverty. The other side is the devaluation or making entirely invisible vital forms of work. It is especially the typical woman's work of raising children which is "naturalized" as an outcome of biology, or, on a "higher" level, privatized into an expression of love. However, such an ideological justification for appropriating the results of this work has been useful only as long as the market economy profited from it. Where no one profits, where the work of raising children is not done under the auspices of a "good dependency" on a husband, and where the children who are being raised are not really needed as future wage laborers, are therefore part of a growing surplus population, the work becomes an expression of character deficiencies. It is welfare mothers who rely on the government and are therefore indulging in a "bad dependency." And if the mothers find a job, no matter how low the wages or how awful the conditions, and no matter how young their children, any job will assist them in shaping up and developing their character. This is the essence of the current welfare reform proposals. No one who has a clear view of current and future job opportunities for large parts of the inner-city population can avoid seeing this as a scheme for blaming the victims of "economic restructuring" for their own dismal outlooks for a decent education and equally decent income opportunities. If welfare programs will be reformed the way corporate politicians are planning to do there will be an increase in homelessness, in hunger and despair--and a swelling of the "superfluous population."

Raising Children Under Harsh Conditions

For the past few years the focus of my interest has been work attached to the raising of children, work performed mainly by women and therefore with a long history of being one of the most devalued, neglected, or ignored kinds of work. In previous work I made connections among subsistence work, motherwork, social oppression on race and gender, and economic devastation (1995, forthcoming). This includes the vanishing of jobs and job prospects, growing unemployment, the mushrooming of an informal and underground economic sector, etc.

It has not been difficult to see, read about, and analyze the tremendous hardship of the African-American inner city population living in segregated public housing areas on Chicago's west and south side. It has also not been difficult to see the many external and internal obstacles in the way of doing the work of raising children, a responsibility almost exclusively placed on women. And the overall context of despondency and violence has easily been shrunk into effective media sensations that depict an entire population as characteristically deficient and deviant. What I have directly seen and heard about by listening to women involved, and what I had to read between the lines of a number of publications dealing with racism, poverty, and welfare, is the fact that the women who are doing the inordinate amount of survival work, especially around children, do not get any public acknowledgment, and often do not themselves acknowledge the incredible strength and courage they are mustering 24 hours a day.

This was the case among the women of a literacy group meeting in a literacy center for the A.B.L.A. Homes. From March 1994 to April 1995 I attended weekly meetings. The meetings were called Women Empowerment Hour (WEH). While the work of raising children, or motherwork, was never an explicit theme, children, taking care of them, protecting them, and relying on the assistance of other mothers (often one's own, i.e. the grandmother of one's children), were constantly recurring themes. They were often moving in between the poles of two extremes. One extreme was bottomless caring, having sole responsibility for caring, and the children's never-ending demand for love, protection, and attentiveness. The other extreme was neglect or abuse of children due to the mother's despondency.

The conditions necessary for raising children in a way that gives them a childhood are rapidly eroding. In the context of destruction and destructiveness all around, with few cushions left, and where destruction has also, for many, settled into the interior of the self, every aspect of the conditions for motherwork is affected. These are material and physical conditions, including poverty, abysmal public housing complexes and public spaces, e.g. parks, a very limited health care system, and overall unhealthy living conditions. Likewise, and concomitantly, the psychological conditions are also deteriorating. People have lost a sense of future without financial or emotional stability. In addition, violence, the threat of violence, and abuse around and in one's own house are increasing, and the drug culture has become omnipresent. And there is the spiritual devastation. This ranges from a loss of community and, increasingly, of roots to previous generations living in the south, to loneliness, despondency, seeking refuge in alcohol or drugs, or collapsing into a state of passivity in front of the TV. TV is most frequently the only contact with "society" or the "outside" world, and with its commercial product of a dream world, life style, and corresponding values tied to materialism and consumerism, the social is defined by the ownership of shiny material goods, like color TV, microwaves, expensive shoes, etc., which

have turned into status symbols. The slogan "the more the better" determines success or failure. Its omnipresence proves that "the economy" has become entirely unlimited, and that anything truly social has been destroyed.

Mutual Support, Personal Stories, and Reflective Distance

In a context of poverty and isolation, surrounded by violence and utter public neglect, caring is of a troublesome, multilayered nature. Social exploitation and self-oppression are highly intertwined, and caring is caught in a dense web of pain, fears, anguish, and concerns which lie at the core of motherwork. Caring signifies an overwhelming emotional burden. But because it is at the core of motherwork, and because it involves a multitude of tasks, skills, abilities, and forms of knowledge, it also signifies an overwhelming amount of work and responsibility. On the utopian, life-affirming side, motherwork requires a holistic mind-set and a holistic practical approach. As I have written elsewhere (Hart, in press), it is work that is contextual, situational, collaborative, and intergenerational, and it incorporates the physical, psychological, emotional, and spiritual dimensions of life. This is what makes it an example of subsistence work. It shows how "the economy" or "economic activities" are not separate or central, as every aspect of daily life and living is involved in them. My very brief description should also give an idea of the complex educational processes and demands involved in acquiring or learning a holistic mind-set and a holistic practical approach, especially in a world that thrives on divisions, separations, fragmentations; all of which get subsumed under the uniformity of a world capitalist system. What falls under the official rubric of workplace education/training (or "learning for earning") lives off and intensifies these divisions because they are needed for a profitable market economy which unites the fragments under the auspices of the bottom line. Relatedly, the current "work crisis" addresses "the continual refoundation on a world scale of the class relationship on which capitalist development rests" (Dalla Costa, 1995a, p. 11). It does not address the kind of work that has been unwaged or unremunerated, devalued or made invisible. The sexual division of labor which underlies the devaluation of motherwork also underlies the absence of including it in an analysis of the current work crisis and in corresponding educational efforts. What does it mean to focus on the way conditions for subsistence, for motherwork, are "continually besieged, undermined, and overwhelmed by capitalist development" (Dalla Costa, 1995a, p. 11), a development which is more and more epitomized by high tech? Truly "developed" wage workers who know how to serve technology are a far cry from the workers who have developed a holistic practical approach to the many different facets of life, of sustaining life or staying alive in a complex social, cultural, and physical setting. What does education mean under these circumstances?

Going back to the context of the women's literacy group, mothers on public aid, living in public housing complexes, denounce in the most glaring way how the outer and inner survival base of motherwork is being destroyed. They are also in the best position to indicate where struggle, resistance, and change on many different levels are needed and are of primary importance. As it became clear to me, the women's overwhelming responsibilities for themselves, their children, and people around them was in need of mutual support, affirmation, and help. But mutual support could only be given by nurturing a sense of power in one's own self--a sense of power that was needed to swim upstream, to be a source of strength for one's children. And this was the main purpose of the Women Empowerment Hour where the gaining of this kind of "literacy"

was in the center of the participants' efforts. The women employed a learning method which combined the telling of personal stories and anecdotes with attempts to gain a reflective distance. This sometimes happened when stories were shared, and when commonalities were discovered or emphasized, sometimes when visitors came to talk about a recurring problem in more general terms. Often the ability to be self-critical, to acknowledge one's own responsibility in perpetuating pain was called for as well. This could only happen after trust was built, relying on consistent support. Moving between one's own personal horizon and gaining some reflective distance by developing a larger perspective was a slow, painful process which sometimes meant a few steps forward, sometimes also a few steps backward.

The participants of the women's literacy group have shown that there are (still) gaps in the system, and that life-sustaining desires and hopes are alive, in whatever beleaguered form. And they have also taught me that if we want to move our thinking beyond what is considered "the economy" and "learning for earning" we need to assist those who live at the center of the margin. It is there where we can see that it is possible to take small steps toward finding a way of living, working, and learning which is inseparable from the responsibilities and tasks associated with the work of raising children.

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Struggling for Democratic Educational Practices: The Adult Learning Skills Program and the Campaign to Stop the Focus on Quality Policy

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The paper provides an analysis of the origins of a City Colleges of Chicago policy that resulted in the closing of 179 off-campus sites of the Adult Learning Skills Program (ALSP). It looks at how the union of Adult Educators attempted to resist this policy. Lastly, it applies the concepts of state and civil society as tools to understand the political dynamics that foster or impede struggle within the ALSP.

The aim of this paper is to provide an examination of the dynamics that foster or impede the political struggle for democratizing educational practices within a community college setting and specifically within the Adult Learning Skills Program (ALSP) of the City Colleges of Chicago (CCC) and its network of off-campus educational sites. To this end, I intend to document and analyze the efforts of the Adult Educators (capitalized when it refers to the job title of ALSP instructors) and their union, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 3506, to democratize the decision making process and implementation of a recent CCC policy called "Focus on Quality" that resulted in the closing of 179 of the off-campus sites.

Democratization, in this context, should be understood to mean the struggle by the Adult Educators to engage CCC management in negotiations over the implementation and impact of any decision that affects the working conditions of the Adult Educators themselves and the program as a whole. Moreover, in this context, the struggle for democratizing the workplace went beyond the rights of collective bargaining codified in Illinois labor law to include the Adult Educators' effort to build a coalition of all affected groups, including the students and off-campus site providers.

In a broad and theoretical sense, one can argue that this is an analysis of the utility of political struggle aimed at democratizing an aspect of the state (CCC as seen as part of the state apparatus) through a mobilization of individuals and institutions of civil society (students, teachers, and community-based site providers). While the theoretical concepts of state and civil society are essential to an understanding of the dynamics of social change, definitional clarification of these concepts is a necessary first step in their application to a specific historical juncture such as the topic of this paper (due to the myriad of definitions of these concepts in the last 300 years of philosophical and sociological research). Therefore, I will use the concepts of state and civil society in this discussion, being careful to indicate with whose definitions I am working.

The Origins of the Focus on Quality Policy

The ALSP Program. The ALSP, which started in 1973, provides instruction in adult basic education: General Education Development (GED) examination preparation, English as a Second

Language (ESL), and Literacy. The classes are located on all seven campuses and at off-campus sites. These sites consist of churches, schools, community-based organizations (CBOs), and other governmental and nongovernmental agencies. The colleges agree to provide the sites with teachers and basic instructional materials (books, chalk, photocopying, etc.) and expect the site to provide the infrastructure (classrooms, heating, lighting, desks, etc.) necessary for classroom instruction.

The ALSP expanded rapidly in the early and mid 1980s due to large influxes of federal monies from the Amnesty Program of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (PUB. L. NO. 99-603) and related federal and state funded Adult Basic Education (ABE) initiatives. Off-campus sites appeared like boom towns in every place imaginable including restaurants and apartments and more traditional site locations such as church basements and public libraries. Throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s however, CCC faced increased scrutiny from negative media coverage, CBOs, and AFSCME Local 3506, over the colleges' inability to sufficiently manage the off-campus sites of the ALSP.

The Union. The union's major complaints were centered around a lack of proportional allocation of CCC monies. For example, in 1991, the ALSP comprised 56.7 percent of all credit hours, yet only received 23.3 percent of direct instructional monies (Chicago Council on Urban Affairs, 1993). This led to the lack of basic instructional materials such as textbooks and very low pay for the instructors. The union also complained that the instructors received little or no help in the recruitment or retention of students, and that there was an unclear definition of how much supervisory control the site providers had over the teachers, the students, and the program in general. The union never opposed the community-based nature of the program, but consistently argued for an increase in coordination. The union felt that with an increase in funding for the ALSP, the hiring of more coordinators and their deployment as links between the college and the sites could make the community-based nature of the program more successful in reaching the highest number of Chicagoans interested in basic education classes. Furthermore, the union argued the coordinators could also act as links between the students and teachers of the various sites within any given neighborhood.

The CBOs. For their part, many CBO site providers complained of having to supply materials and infrastructure for the classes without receiving any monetary reimbursement from CCC. This tension between the CBOs and CCC led to the formation of a coalition of CBOs that began to lobby the state legislature to open up the bidding for adult basic education monies to private agencies. Many of these complaints by both the union and site providers spilled over into the Chicago media in the form of very negative reports of classes without books or classes without students, etc.

The CCC Administration. While the union and the CBOs were demanding changes in the ALSP to meet the needs of their constituents (teachers, students, and communities), the CCC administration was increasingly trying to address the needs of a very different constituency.

Since the appointment of Ron Gidwitz, CEO of Helene Curtis as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of City Colleges, there has been a conscious effort to streamline CCC to more directly serve the needs of business. The ALSP was seen as inefficient from a business perspective in the

sense that the students were not finishing the program trained in the specific skills that business desired. Increasingly, the CCC administration has spoken of the need to focus on workplace preparedness training (Davis & Jouzaitis, 1991; Jouzaitis, 1991). It is worth quoting at length the ALSP Operational Plan which was the basis of the Focus on Quality policy.

The goals and objectives of the ALSP Operational Plan are correlated with the following District [CCC system-wide] goals:

> District Goal 1. To ensure that students earning certificates and degrees will meet standards necessary for employment in their chosen occupations or for transfer to a senior institution.
>
> District Goal 2. To increase the number and proportion of students enrolled in preparatory, vocational, and transfer programs who complete a course of study and achieve their educational or employment skills.
>
> District Goal 3. To assist business, industry, and public agencies in increasing productivity, quality, and competitiveness.
>
> District Goal 4. To document student/client achievement and improve efficiency and cost effectiveness in obtaining results.

Furthermore, in an interview in the September 1992 issue of *Chicago* magazine Gidwitz said,

> companies didn't want to have to invest in [teaching people] skills. . . . The City Colleges wasn't dealing with the fundamental issues. As we move toward the year 2000, the pool of unskilled jobs in America is going to drop. We need high school graduates with value added' so they can continue to function in the American labor pool. They don't necessarily need a two or four year liberal arts course (Millman, 1992, p. 134).

The Focus on Quality Policy

In 1992, City Colleges requested an Illinois Community College Board (ICCB) Focused Recognition Visit to evaluate the ALSP and recommend changes. The ICCB report made 16 recommendations one of which suggested reducing the number of off-campus sites. Following this recommendation, CCC developed the ALSP Operational Plan for 1992-93 and subsequently the Focus on Quality policy of 1992-1994. Specifically, the Focus on Quality policy was a three phase plan. Phase I, implemented in August of 1993, directed the closure of all sites with fewer than 25 students. This resulted in 93 site closings. Phase II, during the fall of 1993, directed the closure of all sites with fewer than 75 students. This resulted in 60 site closings. Phase III, during the Spring of 1994, directed the creation of service areas around each campus and the allocation of sites to the nearest campus. This resulted in another 26 sites closing due to the fact that some colleges, for a variety of reasons (lack of staff, poor opinion of the site, etc.), refused to accept existing sites previously assigned to a different college. During the three phases, a total of 179 sites were closed.

Table 1. Effects of Focus on Quality Policy

	1992	1995	% reduction
sites	302	123	59
teachers	1483	886	40
enrollment	34,337	27,529	20

Sources: *1992 ICCB Focused Recognition Report*; 1995 Annual Chancellor's Enrollment Report; *Reasons Not to Vote for the Reappointment of Ron Gidwitz* produced by AFSCME Local 3506.

Responding to the Focus on Quality Policy

The Union's Campaign The loss of nearly 600 Adult Educators was a devastating blow to AFSCME Local 3506. From the very beginning of the Focus on Quality policy, the union attempted to exert pressure on CCC in order to gain a voice in the policy making process.

The campaign by the union consisted of attempts to mobilize the teachers, students, and site providers of the affected sites. The theme of the campaign drew on the demands that the union had been making all along. The union offered alternative policy statements to the CCC management that argued that the solution to managing the sites was not to close them down, but to build them up through increased allocation of funds to the ALSP for additional coordinators and instructional resources, and that no site should be closed without a public hearing in the community that it served. The union also organized protests at CCC Board of Trustee meetings, on the campuses, and at city hall. Furthermore, the union filed Unfair Labor Practice (ULP) charges with the Illinois Educational Labor Relations Board (IELRB) alleging that CCC violated the Illinois Educational Labor Relations Act by refusing to negotiate the implementation or impact of the site closings. At the time of publication, these charges are still before the IELRB awaiting a decision.

Understanding the defeat of the union's campaign. During this campaign to stop the site closings and gain a voice in the restructuring of the community-based nature of the ALSP, the union managed to mobilize students, Adult Educators, and a few site providers for some of the largest and most publicized demonstrations in the union's history. In addition, through the alternative plans submitted to CCC management, the union developed some of its most comprehensive policy statements incorporating suggestions from students, Adult Educators, and site providers. In general, the threat posed by the Focus on Quality policy forced the union to organize all the resources available to it, yet the union's efforts saved few if any of the sites that CCC intended to close. The reasons for this defeat can principally be traced to insufficient participation by the very groups most affected by this policy, namely the Adult Educators, students, and site providers. The union consistently reached out to these groups, yet overall there was not a lot of interest in fighting to keep these sites open. How is this possible? Why would teachers who are about to lose their jobs show so little interest in involving themselves in a campaign targeted at saving their jobs? Would not the students also have a stake in saving their

classes? Why would site providers, many of whom exist almost exclusively from their role as providers of space for CCC classes, show so little interest in fighting to save these classes?

In order to answer these questions it is imperative to understand the working conditions of the Adult Educators, the conditions under which the students work and study, and the role CBOs play in the ALSP.

Working Conditions of the Adult Educators. The job of Adult Educator in the ALSP is officially classified as a part-time job by CCC. While Adult Educators can have up to twice the class contact hours (a maximum of 24) as full-time CCC professors in the Credit Program, they are paid by the hour and receive almost no benefits. The maximum gross, annual salary under the current contract for an Adult Educator teaching 24 hours per week, with an advanced degree and more than ten years of service, is just over $22,000. Moreover, very few of the Adult Educators teach 24 hours per week. In 1992, just before the site closings began, only 13 percent of all Adult Educators were teaching more than 20 hours per week and 35 percent of all Adult Educators were teaching less than 12 hours per week. From these statistics, one can infer that most Adult Educators consider their job to be a part-time endeavor. Furthermore, it is widely understood by the union leadership that most Adult Educators have a full-time job outside of their work at CCC. Since many of the Adult Educators that were losing their classes were only teaching a few hours per week and had full time jobs somewhere else, one can see why they would be less inclined to fight to save their classes. The part-time nature of the Adult Educator position has always been a hindrance to building a strong union through membership participation. About 87 percent of the Adult Educators are union members but very few participate in union activities, even when their jobs are on the line. The union is in a catch-22 situation. The union will not be very strong until there are more full-time Adult Educators who have a stake in the position, but the union will not be able to win full-time status until there are many Adult Educators active in the union.

Working conditions of ALSP Students. Working conditions can also be seen as a major factor impeding participation of students in the union's campaign, as well as in the educational process as a whole. Many of the ESL, Spanish Literacy, and Spanish GED students are undocumented immigrant workers. Because of their legal status, they have very poor working conditions. They are often injured on the job, their work shifts are changed without notice, and they are fired or laid off frequently. These conditions lead to a dismal retention rate of approximately 50 percent from the beginning of a semester to the end. New faces are continually appearing in these classes. The English GED students face other problems that this also lead to low retention. These students are plagued by extreme poverty and unemployment. They are forced to get by in an underground economy that makes their lives very unstable. The problems of drugs, gangs, and the related violence are not conducive to studying. With the low retention rate of students, it is hard to maintain the participation of students in any prolonged campaign such as the union's fight to stop the site closings.

The Role of CBOs in the ALSP. To understand the lack of CBO involvement in the campaign to stop the site closings, one must realize that at the time of the Focus on Quality policy many of the large CBOs with ALSP classes were actively involved in a campaign to separate themselves from City Colleges. Primarily Latino CBOs had come together under the Adult Education

Reform Coalition (AERC) with the principal goal of opening up state adult basic education monies to private organizations. The union saw this move on the part of the AERC as the privatization of adult basic education in the city of Chicago and lobbied against the legislation which was eventually defeated. The battle over the privatization legislation, with the AERC on one side and the union on the other, created a division that could not be overcome. The union could not support legislation that would have left the adult educators without their union, and the CBOs of the AERC would not help the union fight site closings, since any attack on community education by CCC only helped the AERC's campaign of privatization by showing how only they were willing to service the needs of the community.

While the largest CBO sites were fighting against the union, some smaller CBOs did become actively involved in the campaign against the site closings. These smaller CBOs, however, did not have the political clout, or ability, to mobilize the large numbers of people necessary to have a major impact on CCC decision-making. Furthermore, for other smaller CBOs the CCC classes in their site were not an organizational priority. So when CCC proposed to close the classes, they did not see this as an attack on the principal objectives of their organization.

Conclusion

There are important lessons to be learned from the defeat of the campaign to involve teachers, students, and site providers in impacting the Focus on Quality policy. First, the most obvious lesson is the difficulty of mobilizing part-time teachers. This has been the major obstacle for AFSCME Local 3506 since its inception in 1987. At this point the outlook for the union is bleak. Susan Tyma, the current president of the local, feels that the colleges will probably continue to close sites, and the union has yet to come with an effective strategy to counter these moves by the colleges (S. Tyma, personal communication, July 22, 1995). Furthermore, the union was dealt another blow when an amendment was attached to recently passed Chicago school reform legislation. The amendment includes CCC in legislation that eliminates, among other things, scheduling, assignments, and layoffs as subjects of collective bargaining. This means that the union could no longer file ULP charges like those filed in 1993 over the site closings (S. Tyma, personal communication, July 22, 1995).

Second, we as adult educators interested in democratizing educational practices must use our analytical tools to understand exactly what forces are at play in situations such as the ALSP. Moreover, as I stated in the introduction, we need to be precise in the use of concepts such as state and civil society. Clearly, when we are speaking of CCC, we are dealing with the state as defined by nearly all marxist and neo-marxist theories of the state from Marx or Lenin to Gramsci, Miliband, Poulantzas, or Habermas. Concretely, what this means is that we as adult educators then, are working within the realm that Marx (1970) refers to as "the form of organization which the bourgeois necessarily adopt both for internal and external purposes for the mutual guarantee of their property and interests" (p. 80). While studies have been done (Shor, 1980) that show how community colleges as a whole serve the interests of the ruling class, and Ron Gidwitz's actions as Chairman of the Board of Trustees give us further examples of this phenomenon, we must not forget that institutions or apparatuses of the state "are never anything other than the materialization and condensation of class relations" (Poulantzas, 1975, p. 25).

Therefore, the institutions of the state are sites of struggle between the classes. We can see this in the struggle over the site closings as the union brought forth all the working class forces it could organize in an attempt to structure the ALSP to union interests while the CCC administration tried to shape the ALSP to primarily meet the needs of business. This struggle within the state is extremely limited at this historical juncture. The union's struggle is largely limited to labor relations codified within current collective bargaining law. This highly institutionalized form of struggle by labor unions compels some theorists to consider trade unions themselves as part of the state (Poulantzas, 1975; Althusser, 1971). We can see the implications of this when workers end up fighting their own union as much as their employer. This problem has not at all escaped AFSCME Local 3506 for it has many times confronted the state and national union bureaucracies of AFSCME over failure to represent the teachers' interests. The lack of political space for struggle within the state that currently confronts the union can also be attributed to the lack of radical political struggle in society in general. We are not witnessing any highly mobilized social movements within civil society that can help open up more space within the state institutions.

If we define the City Colleges as part of the state, then where do we place the CBOs? I would argue, and I think this is fundamental to an understanding of the forces within the ALSP, that the CBOs cannot clearly be associated with the notion of civil society. I further find the whole concept of civil society problematic due to what I perceive as a lack of a clear theoretical distinction between state and civil society.

For Marx (1970), civil society represented the economic base, or the relations of production, of capitalist society from which arose the superstructure or state. Gramsci (1971, 1994a), whose definitions of state and civil society varied, generally considered civil society as part of the superstructure where the ruling class develops and exerts hegemony, as opposed to coercion, over the other classes in order to ensure its dominant position in society. Recently, Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato's analysis of civil society and social movements has gained popularity, especially among adult educators (Holford, 1995; Welton, 1993). They argue that civil society can be defined by "public spaces, social institutions, rights, representative political institutions, and an autonomous legal system" (quoted in Foweraker, 1995, p. 28).

Clearly these definitions of civil society include elements of what some would consider to be part of the state (Althusser, 1971; Miliband, 1969; Poulantzas, 1975). In order to move forward in the discussion, we can say that for many of the advocates of civil society the emphasis is on spaces where people relate that are not directly under the control of the coercive institutions of the state. Therefore, it can be claimed that CBOs are within civil society. Yet when we look at the CBOs that participate in the ALSP, many exist almost exclusively for the purpose of providing space for these CCC classes. If CCC classes are removed (as was the case with the CBO Casa Aztlan when the director demanded City Colleges leave in February of 1994), these CBOs are left empty with few or no programs. These CBOs are completely dependent on City Colleges and do not have an existence independent of this state institution. Furthermore, these CBOs, along with almost all CBOs, are also wedded to the state through direct state regulation of their legal status. Most CBOs are registered with the government as not-for-profit organizations whereby their very organizational structure is determined by the state. It is for these reasons that I believe the CBOs within the ALSP are, in essence, part of the state. This is not to deny that there are CBOs outside of the ALSP, or CBOs that have a limited role within the ALSP, that

manage to remain autonomous of the state to the point where one can claim that they are operating within civil society.

A clear understanding of the role of CBOs within the ALSP is important for adult educators interested in developing alternative educational practices. Principally, because one must realize where space exists that can allow for these alternatives to take place, I would argue that at this moment it is not within the CBOs of the ALSP. That is not to say, however, that the potential does not exist. As stated above, state institutions are sites of struggle and therefore, space could be opened up within these CBOs or the ALSP as a whole. This would necessitate a more powerful union willing to defend teachers and CBOs interested in alternative practices, CBO leadership truly committed to alternatives and willing to fight for them, and a social movement that takes up the concerns and interests of the working class students of the ALSP. Without these elements, the CCC administration will continue to dominate the ideology and practices of adult education.

Further Implications

The recent international debates on nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the state, and civil society, is very relevant to this discussion of CBOs, City Colleges, and civil society. Coming primarily out of Latin America and Africa is a growing concern over the role Southern (in global terms) NGOs play in serving the interests of Northern capital as they become increasingly institutionalized and develop stronger financial and political ties to NGOs and governments of the North, the United Nations (UN), the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Alan Fowler (1991) claims that the 1400 percent increase in official (governmental or UN) aid to Southern NGOs is "premised on the belief . . . that NGOs possess a mix of characteristics suited to 'humanize' the implementation of structural adjustment programs" (pp. 55-56).

What we see here then, both internationally and locally, is the increasing use of 'private' organizations by the state to serve the interests of business. One can argue that on the one hand, this is a process of co-optation of the organizations of civil society by the state, or that on the other hand, the leadership of these organizations is acting financially in an opportunistic manner--putting financial security over political and organizational autonomy. I think that, more fundamentally, this is the outcome of the very nature of CBOs/NGOs. As organizations that are not normally funded internally by the members or clientele, they are highly susceptible to being heavily influenced by those entities that provide them with funding. This is not to say that membership organizations such as trade unions are not also, albeit for different reasons, absorbed by institutions of the state or by ruling class ideology. Gramsci (1994b) spoke of building counterhegemony and socialism within working-class organizations. But are CBOs, funded almost exclusively by corporate or philanthropic foundations and the government, truly working class organizations? Are they organic to the class? I believe that ultimately, we must consider other forms of organization.

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Work, Adult Education And Sites Of Resistance

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ABSTRACT

This paper offers a critical perspective on workplace based training and contends that in view of the current crises in techno capitalism, as manifested in current patterns of downsizing, work reorganization, and corporate realignments, that the workplace, while being an important site where adults learn, should be considered as a site of resistance. It argues that adult educators who engage in staff development/training should explicate an emancipatory approach through the incorporation and practice of a critical pedagogy. It is argued further that adult educators have a unique opportunity to raise the consciousness of the adult learner in the workplace to the issues of job security, democracy and social justice within the whole context of their training to become more efficient workers.

Two recent reports of layoffs highlight the crisis of techno capitalism and the vulnerability of workers. USA Today (Sept 29 p. 57) reported that the telephone giant, AT&T was splitting in order to create three new entities. In the process some 8,500 jobs will be lost. More recently, AT & T again announced the laying off of 40,000 workers, including middle management personnel. (New York Times, January 3, 1996). Then on October 2nd, Business Week, 1995 (p. 70) reported that Colgate-Palmolive would be laying off some 3,000 employees, thereby reducing their workforce to 33,000. This phenomenon has been occurring in many industries and sectors such as defense, health care, city and county government, education, and airlines among others. The list goes on and on showing how thousands of workers are thrown out of work and their lives wrecked in the process. Does this scenario represent what work should be like? What role should adult educators who work within staff development/training contexts perform within this fragmented and unstable economic environment?

To be sure, work in bourgeois capitalist society does not represent the essence of the phenomenon of what work should be. Karl Marx has been regarded as the foremost theoretician in articulating the intrinsic value of work. Following in the tradition of Hegel, who perceived work as representing the "act of man's self-creation" (cited in Mason 1982, p. 118), Marx certainly saw work as the highest means of achieving self-actualization. According to the psychoanalyst Eric Fromm, from the view of Marx, work

> "is the self expression of man, an expression of his individual physical and mental powers. In this process of genuine activity man develops himself; work is not only a means to an end--the product--but an end in itself, the meaningful expression of human energy, hence work is enjoyable. (1961, p. 41-42). Marx therefore saw work as having both intrinsic and extrinsic functions. Fromm points out that in the process of work, that is, the molding of and changing of nature outside of himself, man molds and changes himself" (p. 159).

But while work may provide for intrinsic individual satisfaction as well as an extrinsic satisfaction in the opportunity to create or provide something in exchange for value, it also tends to produce devastating consequences. These are occasioned by the nature of production relations in capitalist society or what is described in contemporary terms as "techno capitalism," a mode of production that shows a synthesis of technology and capitalist social relations in an increasingly commodified environment (Kellner, 1993). In its attempt to create wealth, bourgeois society has changed work relations in such a manner that workers have become involved in a system of work that they are increasingly discovering to be meaningless. This, of course, represents alienation in which workers are separated from themselves as well as the product of their labor. This prevents the workers from achieving the desired satisfaction from work, which loses significance as workers are continuously forced to sell their labor in order to eke out an existence. . . .

Nevertheless, work remains one of the fundamental adult human activities. Whether we are technicians, clerks, salespeople, farmers, truck drivers, managers, teachers, or professors; we are all workers. And our work affects our families. We work in order to sustain ourselves physically, mentally, socially, and emotionally. People work in order to educate their children, purchase commodities, take care of circumstances of life such as debt and ill health of self, parents, children, or relatives. People may have to work even to enjoy leisure. The imperatives of work, therefore, are so great that one's work becomes a consuming endeavor. Lack of work, therefore, represents a serious threat to the psychological and emotional health of workers. (Several cases of postal employees returning to the workplace and killing their supervisors and nearby workers illustrates this). Being out of a job means to be jobless, and unemployed and to experience the loss of status, and a feeling of loss of worth. It also prevents some workers from making a contribution to their communities which then suffer a loss thereby reducing the capacity of the community to build up its social capital.

The totalizing nature of work in modern society is best expressed by the bureaucratic organization. Max Weber saw the bureaucracy as the most efficient form of social organization. In fact Weber says that "without it (bureaucracy) capitalistic production could not continue" (Mason, 1982, p. 115). It is through such structures that much of contemporary work is performed in places such as factories, hospitals, governmental agencies, voluntary agencies, schools, and universities. (Much work occurs in the home, on farms and independently. This is outside the scope of this paper). These organizations in their contemporary configurations such as multinational corporations, have so much power and physical capacity that they employ significant numbers of workers simultaneously at different locations. Even the University is sometimes called the multiuniversity. These bureaucratic organizations also seek to preserve themselves through training workers to increase their efficiency in delivering a good or service in order to maximize profit outcomes or service advantages. Workers are therefore caught in a work environment which ascribes power to management hierarchy and privileges management in firing or terminating workers under the guise of "being competitive" and enhancing "efficiency", even though these workers may be most efficient.

The development of these "efficient" work organizations in bourgeois capitalist society has created an intensely dependent relationship with workers having no choice but to sell their labor (these days to the *lowest* bidder), in order to ensure physical survival of self, family, and that of the agency/industry, or so it is argued. In some cases, workers cannot afford to be sick for *one*

day, for fear that when they return their jobs would be taken by someone else, most likely a "temp". In order to maintain employment many workers are forced to acquire as many skills as they can to ensure that if someone is terminated that he or she will be in a position to do that person's job as well as his or her original job. Thus, some workers just cannot afford to be fired, since they may be deep in debt as part of our consuming society.

Recent indications of the downsizing/rightsizing by business organizations, the closing of departments at universities, and the laying off thousands of employees (as mentioned before) point to the serious contradictions of the bureaucratic organization's efficiency in such a society. And while workers are being laid off, these organizations are making more and more profits.

The contradiction is even reflected in current training philosophy. It is so ironic that in the midst of the corporate downsizing that the leading training publication associated with corporate training, The American Society of Training Director's, Training and Development Journal, had a caption article, "Engaging Survivors After Downsizing" on the cover of its August, 1995 issue. It appears that after workers are thrown overboard, trainers will rescue those who are not drowned! Another prestigious publication by Indiana University Graduate School of Business proffers advice on "Long Range Career Planning During Turbulent Times," Business Horizons, (Jan.-Feb., 1995, p. 2) indicating that the old method of career planning has become obsolete and outlining a ten step process to help workers plan for the 21st century. Alongside this article is one titled "Coming To Terms With The New Corporate Contract" Business Horizon (Ibid, p. 8) which indicates that the days of long term "relational contract" are over and hence there is need for a *new* understanding of loyalty in the corporate culture. The irony is not complete for another article in the same issue is titled "Creating a System for Continuous Improvement." Improvement of what and for whom? Is it for the consumer? We need to remember that the consumer is likely to be a worker or depends on a worker. When that worker is laid off, then his purchasing power declines and when people do not buy commodities, then there is no business.

In view of the current trends, workers therefore need to develop their own knowledge. The key question is how could adult educators contribute to an enlarged understanding by workers whose daily lives are tied to the modern workplace whether business, industry, government, voluntary, or academic. Working in a variety of settings, workers receive salaries and wages which keep them hooked in dependency to those work institutions. Loss of jobs produces catastrophic results for workers, families, and communities, as the situation of the "angry white male" testifies.

It seems to me, therefore, that there is need to reconceptualize the training of workers. The following questions may serve to direct us to a more transformative and emancipatory approach: What are workers being trained for? How can training be responsive to the needs of the individual? How could training assist workers to look critically at what they are learning and for what purpose? How could training give voice to workers in determining their future? How could training assist workers to grapple with the sociopolitical and economic environment which affect their places of employment? What changes need to be made in the curriculum of training in order to provide workers with the consciousness to act, that is, to encourage human agency.

I think that the work of Gramsci(1971), Aronowitz and Giroux (1993), Freire (1973), Shor (1988), and Gore (1993) point the way to how a critical pedagogical approach of engaging

workers in a learning process that is beyond technique, a process that moves us from the *WHAT* to the *WHY*. Ira Shor (1987, 1988) has also employed the Freirian method in both academic and job training settings with excellent results. His focus on dialogic teaching and critical empowerment enabled learners to develop a larger vision for social democratic change.

In Antonio Gramsci's work (1971), we become aware of the hegemonic nature of institutional structures and also of the ability of the individual to utilize spaces in order to counter hegemonic influences. In Gramsci's formulation, the work of *organic intellectuals* is extremely important in providing the leadership necessary to assist those who are oppressed to challenge their domination. This person has an understanding of the historical and material forces which exert their influences in a variety of ways. Undoubtedly the present structure of work organization exerts overt and subtle ways of control. The "organic intellectual" (the adult educator) then has a role in assisting trainees in the unpacking and uncovering of such controls which masks company definitions of "success" or "difficulty".

Aronowitz and Giroux (1993) recognize that structural determinants reinforce and reproduce existing social, class and cultural relationships thereby influencing the way educational resources are distributed. But neither students nor teachers are passive; they are capable of agency. They could act out of their own volition based on their perceptions of injustice. However, the teacher, by virtue of his or her power as the teacher, could become a *transformative intellectual*, providing intellectual space for students to actively resist the domination of the oppressive school structure. Schools then, rather than simply being sites of cultural reproduction, now become sites of resistance to dominating hegemonic influences.

The work of Paulo Freire points the way to the role of dialogic encounters in training. Freire (1993) utilized this approach not only in literacy training but also in enterprise education (Carmen, 1995). The use of generative themes and questioning seems appropriate in raising consciousness as well as enabling participants to utilize their own experience in knowledge construction. Such techniques could be utilized in order to allow issues that relate to the particular course or program as well as broader social issues of race, gender, social justice, democracy, and exploitation to surface. For, example, when focusing on management at a workshop, we may ask, "How do we manage women workers? What does it say about our management styles?" In other words, larger themes have a legitimate connection to the workplace.

Jennifer Gore's(1993) use of reflexive teaching within teacher education (teachers are workers too!) also contributes to the way in which a critical pedagogy could be utilized to enable adult learners in the workplace to examine their own structures and to determine how to create spaces for social change.

In a similar way that others have utilized learning sites, I would like to conceive of the workplace as also a site of learning and of resistance to the numbing assault taking place against workers in all sectors and industries. Undoubtedly as capitalism lurches from one crises to another, economic certainties will no longer hold and unexpected and unanticipated cycles will occur, with continued disastrous consequences on the workforce. It appears, therefore, that workers must prepare themselves by critically interrogating the nature of current work structure and patterns. A

valuable space manifests itself through on the job training opportunities. Wendy Myers (1995) expresses the context of the opportunity when she notes that " savvy employees replace job security with "employability security'. You may get a paycheck from a company, but you're actually working for yourself" (p.30). This advice to women workers in the business world (advice which is applicable to men also) indicates that "everything is up for grabs" and that they should be prepared to depend only on their ability to work wherever jobs are found and to take whatever training is available. This advice should also serve to prod the adult educator/trainer to utilize the psychological space which the current problematic situation affords, to engage adult trainees in critical analysis and reflection as part of their training.

The underlying assumption which informs this approach is the critical awareness and stance of the adult educator. This necessitates a recognition and acceptance of one's social vision and role in the training process. The adult educator/trainer must not be deluded about his or her role being neutral and apolitical. Nyerere (1976) reminds us of this fact when he says that through our teaching, people will make demands on the system, an act which is political. In the context of the workplace, workers may make demands on the organization for a variety of services as a result of the new knowledge acquired in the course of the seminar or workshop.

As a transformative intellectual, the adult educator provides trainees not only with job-related skills necessary for the efficient and rational functioning of bureaucratic work organization, but also with an opportunity to engage trainees in naming locations of power within their workplaces and how that power manifests itself. The trainer as intellectual facilitates discussions towards an understanding of the liberatory and the oppressive character of the work environment, as well as facilitates a discourse which explicates a language of possibility regarding the workers' ability to engage in their own actions to extricate themselves from hegemonic structures and practices of the society.

In conclusion, work is integral to the daily life of the adult. It offers many people a sense of identity and recognition. Recent cases of layoffs in many industrial enterprises indicate that while work should provide meaning and satisfaction to employees, it is becoming a source of terror. A major explanation of this situation lies in the structure of techno-capitalist society undergoing episodic crises. It is the view of the writer that adult educators/trainers, by virtue of their positions as teachers, can employ a critical pedagogical stance in assisting workers to utilize the workplace as both a site of learning and a site of resistance as workers engage in their own struggle to claim the promises of a democratic society.

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Who Should Pay to Learn? A Critical Assessment of the World Bank's Neoliberal Education Policies

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This paper critically examines the World Bank's neoliberal education reform policy proposals. I argue that although the aims of the World Bank's proposed education policy reforms may be laudable, the cost recovery and resource generation strategies and related instruments proposed to achieve those aims are not only problematic but are likely to be harmful to access, equity, quality, and efficiency. I further argue that the "economic crises" and structural adjustment prevailing in most countries of the South seriously undermine the feasibility of neoliberal proposals. I conclude that direct and indirect taxation strategies provide a promising alternative to neoliberal education policies.

For most countries of the South, state provision of education is deemed necessary to promote and protect access, equity, and efficiency. Three main reasons are often advanced in support of this orthodox view (Hinchliffe, 1993; Colclough, 1993). First, it is argued that the benefits of education accrue to both the individual and society, and full cost recovery or private provision of education would result in under-provision of education. Second, privatization of education, particularly of higher education, would seriously affect access and equity, especially among poor families in the South where personal and household incomes are highly skewed. Further, due to the existence of imperfections within the economy and markets, credit or loan arrangements are likely to be ineffective. Third, since education contributes to future individual earnings, marketization of education would strengthen inequities, by providing privileged access and future higher incomes to the rich and powerful classes. These and other reasons provide the basis for the orthodox view that the state, particularly in Southern countries, should continue to be the main provider of education.

Since the early 1980s, a group of critics have emerged who question the above orthodox view. They argue that state or public provision of education itself is mainly responsible for the existing "education crisis" in the South. Among the various proponents of the above position, the World Bank has been one of the major sponsors of the bulk of the research on which this approach is based.[1] The World Bank has also been the main conduit through which this "new" approach has been imposed on the education policy reform agenda in the South. As an extension of its economic-growth-through-structural-adjustment development policy, and applying its human capital perspectives, the World Bank has marshalled a set of education policy reforms which aid-recipient countries in the South have been "encouraged" to adopt. This agenda can be best described as "neoliberal" because it advocates a substantially greater role for the price system in

[1] The main contributors include Jimenez (1987), Mingat and Tan (1985, 1986a, 1986b), Psacharopoulos and Woodhall (1985). In addition, the policy document on education in Sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 1988), and the latest *Priorities and Strategies in Education* (World Bank, 1995) reflect this neoliberal approach.

allocating educational services, and a much reduced role for the state as a provider and organizer of educational services (Colclough, 1991; Hinchliffe, 1993).

According to neoliberal ideologues, markets embody the principle of freedom by providing choice options. The consumers are free to choose between several providers of the same education goods and services. Efficiency is also seen to result from market competition. An extension of market principles and reduction of the dominance of the state is seen to provide greater freedom for the individual and the clients of education. Finally, it is claimed that greater reliance on the market will solve the problems of overload, ungovernability, and delegitimation. Markets relieve the central state apparatus of decision-making and provide a greater autonomy and more involvement among clients and consumers (Boyd, 1993; Boyd and Wahlberg, 1990).

I examine the key proposals of this neoliberal approach to education (hereafter referred to "Newlib"). Taking the World Bank's approach to education as archetypical of this paradigm, I argue that although the *aims* of the World Bank's proposed education policy reforms may be laudable, the reform strategies and policy instruments proposed to achieve those aims are not only problematic but are likely to be harmful to access, equity, quality, and efficiency. In particular, I will argue that the recent "economic crises" being experienced by most African countries undermine the viability of the cost-recovery strategies proposed in the World Bank's policy documents on education, including the 1995 *Priorities and Strategies for Education*.

The Educational Crisis

According to Newlib, education systems in the South face two major sets of problems. First, although educational enrollments have improved in the last two decades, education systems, particularly in Africa, remain underexpanded since large numbers of people are still precluded from access to even primary education (Colclough, 1991; World Bank, 1988; World Bank, 1995). Yet, due to severe economic crisis and structural adjustment, and combined with high rates of population growth, several Southern countries do not have the resources needed for expansion of education from state or public revenues. Second, although primary education has been able to reach a significant portion of "the masses," universal basic education still remains an elusive goal. Further, evidence shows that present financing patterns are characterized by misallocation of resources in both equity and efficiency terms (Colclough and Lewin, 1993). Relatively, small amounts, in per capita terms, are spent on primary education particularly compared with large costs of higher education. Others make the point that higher education is elitist because it mainly caters for the rich and privileged population. In most Southern countries, children from upper income families are the main beneficiaries of higher education, and furthermore, these same children continue to receive high individual returns from educational subsidies diverted towards them by the state (Colclough, 1991; World Bank, 1988). Lastly, partially as a combination of limited access, cultural norms and misallocation of resources, an increasing proportion of girls and the rural poor (as well as other disadvantaged groups) continue to be denied a basic education (World Bank, 1995).

There is now a large body of literature which documents these problems facing education in the South. I have no serious disagreement with the above *general* diagnosis offered by Newlib. Indeed, I agree that additional resources for expansion of education are needed, that inefficiency

and misallocation of resources should be curbed and that the vested interests of the powerful and privileged classes influence governments' effectiveness to manage the resources and benefits of education. However, I argue that the Newlib's policy reform strategies are not only problematic but may actually exacerbate the problems of limited access, inequity, and inefficiency.

Proposed Solutions

Although there are some variations within Newlib regarding the proposed solutions to the above problems, four common strategies can be identified (World Bank, 1986; World Bank, 1988; World Bank, 1995). First, it is suggested that in order to achieve efficiency, public resources should be concentrated on basic education because, it is argued, this is where the returns to investment are highest (World Bank, 1995). At the same time, since the gap between private and social returns is higher for higher education, user fees in combination with other cost-sharing measures should be introduced at higher, and sometimes, secondary levels (Hinchliffe, 1993; Jimenez, 1987; Mingat and Tan, 1986a; World Bank, 1986, 1988, 1995). Over the past decade, the policy packages of user fees have varied but they usually cover the living expenses of the students and some or all of the tuition costs. These costs are thus transfered from the state to the parents. For parents who cannot afford the fees, targeted stipends are proposed (World Bank, 1995). Similarly, scholarships covering fees and other direct costs such as transportation and uniforms should be provided to bright children of poor parents. For girls, special programs that included reserving all-girl classrooms and schools should be provided (World Bank, 1995). These measures, Newlib proponents argue, would promote both equity and efficiency.

The second common strategy advocated by Newlib is the introduction of student loan schemes at the higher education level for all students (Jimenez, 1987; World Bank, 1986, 1995). Student loans are considered an essential complement to the user fees. The rationale is that loans permit many students from poor families to afford the cost of higher education, and since students pay out of their future earnings, equity and efficiency gains are increased. . Marketization of education at all levels is the third strategy advocated by Newlib (World Bank, 1986). Newlib proponents contend that only by subjecting education to the discipline of the market will schools be forced to respond to parental demands, and thus enhance "educational choice." Furthermore, privatization will result in lower costs per pupil, higher academic achievement (school quality), and greater equality of opportunity. Privatization, it is claimed, would provide the poor the same options as the rich, and allow poor parents more equality of opportunity to improve their children's education by sending them to private schools (Carnoy, 1995). Finally, Newlib advocates conclude that educational quality should improve if the savings and resources generated by the above strategies are used to expand and improve the quality of basic education since it has the highest rates of return (Colclough, 1993; World Bank, 1995).

In order to critically assess these Newlib policy reform strategies, two important questions must be asked. First, to what extent will these cost-recovery strategies effectively improve access, equity, efficiency, and quality, particularly given the prevailing socioeconomic crises in the South? Second, are there other alternative policy strategies which may prove to be more practical and relevant than these Newlib proposals? In the following sections, each of the key Newlib strategies are considered.

User fees

There is now a growing body of literature which supports the Newlib position that the distribution of public expenditure on education is uneven (for example, Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985; World Bank, 1986). Usually, the evidence cited is that there is very high expenditure per pupil on higher education, particularly in Africa (World Bank, 1986; World Bank, 1988), compared to other levels of education. As such, a substantial portion of the subsidies are received by a relatively small population of students from higher income families who gain access to higher education.[2] However, more recent evidence suggests that the above conclusion may not be as strong as Newlib advocates may have us believe. For example, Khan (1991) found that the combination of tax incidence and subsidies to higher education in Pakistan entailed a redistribution from the middle and upper to the lower income groups.

As pointed out above, a central component of Newlib's strategy of reducing educational costs is the introduction of user fees. Critics have argued, and I agree, that user fees only serve to shift the costs from the state to those whose children use the service. In other words, user fees represent a cost-shifting rather than an effective cost-reduction strategy. Such a strategy has several dangers and limitations. First, given the economic decay in most Southern countries where expected and actual household incomes are falling, it seems perverse to expect that "the people" will be "willing to pay" the often high and unexpected costs.[3] Second, in several countries such as Zambia and Zimbabwe, substantial portions of direct costs such as provision of building materials, construction of school buildings, sports fees, etc., have already been passed on to the local communities (Colclough and Lewin, 1993). Third, user fees may have a regressive impact on education in terms of access, equity, and quality. For example, a study found that in Nigeria, primary school enrollment had increased from 6.2 million in 1976 to 14.7 million in 1983 (Lockheed and Verspoor, 1991). However, following the introduction of school fees in 1984 enrollments fell back to 12.5 million in 1986. Although other factors may have contributed to the decline in enrollments, the introduction of school fees was reported as a major contributing factor. Similarly, Stewart (1991) found that in Mali and Zaire, the introduction of tuition and book fees as required by their structural adjustment loans resulted in a decline in enrollments. Cornia, Jolly and Stewart (1987) also reported a negative impact of fees on enrollments in Jamaica. Similar findings were also reported for Zambia (Lungwanga et al., 1991).

In addition to the above evidence of declines in enrollments, it has been argued that user fees may affect equity because fees, even where they are low, can have a big impact upon household

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[2] A number of country studies in Latin America have provided evidence that higher education is predominantly accessed and utilized by the rich. These studies include de Mello e Souza (1991), Navarro (1991), and James (1991).

[3] Colclough and Lewin (1993) point out that in 18 of the 24 African countries more than 10 percent of typical household incomes amongst the poorest 40 percent would be needed to meet the additional costs and for many families towards the lower end of the income distribution, the relative cost burden would be much greater than this.

incomes of the poor. Lugalla (1993) found that in Tanzania the reintroduction of fees in 1985 not only resulted in subsequent declines in enrollments at all levels of education but also forced the affected poor households' to engage in "survival" activities to supplement declines in income. Other studies conducted in several African countries also found that fees have a negative income effect which adversely affected poor households abilities to meet other basic needs, and that partly due to economic crisis and adjustment, poor households have failed to meet the direct and indirect costs of schooling. As a consequence, the typical response of the poor to increase in fees was withdrawal of their children from schools (Oxfam, 1995).

The case in favor of user fees in higher education is stronger for two reasons. First, the majority of students in higher education are from high income households, and second, since the social returns to higher education are lower than those at basic education (World Bank, 1995), and since in many Southern countries still large numbers of children are denied access to good quality basic education (Colclough and Lewin, 1993), it makes sense to divert public resources from higher education to basic education. I will consider these arguments in turn.

First, some authors have shown that user fees could be raised without overall reduction's in higher education enrollments. For example, Colclough (1993) cites studies by Knight (1989) which showed that in Kenya, a scholarship scheme could protect eligible children of the poor who would otherwise be forced out of higher education. However, in most African countries, this policy may be unsuccessful because the Newlib assumption that net private returns would remain high even after the introduction of fees for higher education, remains empirically questionable. These studies as I have argued elsewhere, remain controversial. (Mulenga, 1995)

To start with, most of the evidence, particularly that of the World Bank, upon which this assumption is based, relies on the results of rates of return studies to education. George Psacharopoulos (1973, 1981, 1985, 1989, 1994), an influential senior official of the World Bank has, over the past 20 years, almost single-handedly promoted and sustained the case for rates of returns studies. Not surprisingly, the 1995 *Priorities and Strategies for Education* reaffirms and accords rates of return studies a cardinal place in its foundational arguments for the importance of basic education (World Bank, 1995, pp. 3-5). However, there have been several criticisms of both the methodological hurdles associated with rates of return as well as the evidence based on these studies. I will summarize the pertinent arguments here.

First, much of the evidence uses old (1960s and 1970s) earnings data, and does not take into account the sharp reductions in real earnings which occurred in the 1980s in many Southern countries. For example, in a sample of eight African countries, the average differential in starting salaries between university graduates and secondary school graduates was reduced by 32 percent between 1975 and the late 1980s. Thus, the existing rates of returns studies for Sub-Saharan Africa, upon which strong proposals for cost recovery continue to be based (World Bank, 1988, pp. 72, 79-80), may substantially overestimate present private returns, and may no longer provide an accurate guide to the magnitude of enrollment response to the use of user fees. Given the severe economic crisis experienced by Southern countries during the 1980s, and the serious decline in real earnings during this period, conclusions and policies based on such a fragile data foundation should be treated with great suspicion.

Second, the World Bank (1986, 1988, 1995) and other Newlib advocates have argued that imposition of user fees at the higher education level resulted in a positive impact on primary education budgets and enrollments. The World Bank (1986, p. 21) showed that eliminating living allowances provided to higher education students increased, on average, the primary education budgets in 12 African countries by 18 percent, and that full cost recovery (that is, living allowances and operating costs) could raise public resources for primary education by about 40 percent. I concede that if the revenues so gained are used to provide expanded coverage of basic education or support schemes to enhance access and retention of the poor, cost recovery strategies can improve equity. However, although there is little evidence, the reality in most countries of the South is that this is not often the case. In most cases, the revenues so generated end up in a "general" account which is often used for many purposes other than education. Also, because of their "political capital," the same higher (rich) income groups often capture a substantial proportion of subsidies financed by revenues generated by user fee schemes. For example, in Zambia, students at the University of Zambia have repeatedly used their political voice, including boycotts and protests, to stifle several attempts by the state to implement full cost recovery. Similarly, in Tanzania, following the World Bank loan for education in 1990, the Ministry of Higher Education instituted cost-sharing measures in January, 1992. However, the students of the University of Dar-es-Salaam (UDSM) and the University of Dar-es-Salaam Academic Staff Assembly (UDASA) were able to organize resistance against the Tanzanian government, and consequently, several of the proposed fees were suspended (Lugalla, 1993, p. 210). Other examples of organized political resistance by higher education participants to cost-sharing measures have been reported in Kenya, Zimbabwe, and Cote d'Ivoire. The main point, therefore, is that given the presence of a vocal and politically powerful lobby among beneficiaries of higher education, the political feasibility of cost recovery strategies becomes difficult to achieve.

Loans and Scholarships

The main effect of equity and efficiency costs of user fees acknowledged by Newlib is that they would prevent academically able children from poor households from continuing to pursue further studies, particularly at higher education. The solution often recommended is that credit mainly in the form of student loans should be made available to all those who gain access to higher education (World Bank, 1986; World Bank, 1995), and for those who have the academic ability but lack sufficient income, scholarship schemes are suggested.

There is a large body of literature on student loan and scholarship schemes, and I will not make an attempt to review the many issues and findings. However, I will summarize the main findings and lessons. According to Woodhall (1983) there are three main advantages for introducing loans for students in higher education. First, the reduction of public costs of higher education allows the state to expand access, reduce the states' financial burden, and reallocate resources to other levels of education. Second, loans reduce the transfer of income from the poor to those with higher incomes, and third, loans permit a greater flexibility in the use of educational resources.

By the mid 1990s, more than 40 countries in the South were operating loan schemes with varying degrees of success (World Bank, 1995). Generally, experience to date has been disappointing due

to several problems associated with student loans schemes. First, many studies have revealed that because of high-default rates, student loan schemes are rarely self-financing. Second, in most Southern countries, the banking sector is often unstable and "disorganized", and thus, the administrative costs are usually high. Fourth, due to the often long pay-back period (usually of about 20 years or more), loan schemes do not provide a quick source of saved income which most governments in South desperately need. Lastly, although loans may mitigate against inequities associated with user fees, they still remain more costly to the poor students who are often reluctant to take them than the rich students. Despite all these problems, the World Bank concludes that loan schemes can be made financially sustainable if the public sector can bear some risk (World Bank, 1995, p. 72).

Marketization

Although the debate on market reforms in education has become fairly complex over the past decade, there are two main types of market reforms often proposed. The first type refers to application of market principles in the funding of education. This implies that clients pay for education services by private means rather than having their services funded by the state. Cost recovery is often emphasized and may be achieved through introduction of fees and removal of subsidies. As argued above, the main implication is that the price system plays a greater role in the allocation of education, and to a large extent, the economic resources of the student or family determines the type and quality of education. A major consequence is that egalitarian concerns become less important.

The second type refers to the application of market principles in the organization of educational services. This implies that educational services are organized on the basis of supply and demand, and they are not provided by a centralized structure or body responsible for making decisions but are subjected to the influence of decentralized decisions and "educational choice" by the consumers of education. Often, the costs of educational services are covered by the state or the public resources (Chubb and Moe, 1990; Boyd, 1993). Various voucher schemes in education exemplify market mechanisms in the organization of education, and have been implemented in various degrees in the North, particularly in the USA and Europe. A review of recent literature revealed that the marketization policy in the North has largely been applied in the second type. In other words, marketization of education has mainly been concerned with using markets as a new way of organizing educational services and providing "choice," without radically altering the distribution of costs between private and public funding. In spite of efforts to generate income from clients in the market, the general tendency has involved the use of quasi-market forms, that is, public funding of educational services is maintained.

On the other hand, marketization in the South has largely involved the implementation of the second type with cost recovery being the main thrust. For example, although the World Bank's policy reform proposals have addressed both the financing and organization of education in the South, the emphasis has been on the former, that is, cost recovery and resource generation. In fact, it may be argued that the World Bank gives a much more extreme interpretation of these principles as strategies for reforming education in the South.

In the South, much of the discourse on marketization of education has taken place within the

context of privatization of education provision. The central argument of Newlib is that increased exposure of education to "free market forces" will act to reduce costs. In addition to the general neoliberal rationale for markets outlined earlier, two main reasons are given by the World Bank (World Bank, 1986; World Bank, 1995). First, consumers would put pressure on managers to reduce operating costs and force them to seek out cheaper (and more efficient) educational institutions and services. Second, students would work harder because the costs to them of failure would be greater, and thus the costs per students would fall (World Bank, 1986). The first reason implies that the consumers (students or parents) are the best judges of efficiency or quality. This is not generally evident particularly in the South where information about education and school is often scarce if not inaccessible. The second reason does not follow since students might not work harder, and ability and motivation to work hard are not necessarily correlated to paying ability.

Related to the above arguments is the Newlib proposals concerning introduction of private schools. It is argued that the removal of restrictions on the private sector will increase both quantity and quality of education provision (World Bank, 1986), thereby releasing public resources for use by other students. It is also suggested that quality of education is improved due to increased resources by those willing to pay for education as well as efficiency gains arising out of "healthy competition" among schools. Although there is substantial literature in the North about the merits of private schools, evidence in support of private schools in the South remains limited and fragmentary. However, several critics (such as Carr-Hill, 1987; Kaluba, 1986; Lugalla, 1993) suggest that privatization of education in the South has contributed to the decline in both education quality and equity.

Educational Choice

Closely related to the Newlib proposal for privatization is the call for "educational choice." Newlib advocates have argued that parental choice in education will achieve three main goals: higher average academic achievement, lower costs, and greater equality of opportunity, particularly for children from poor households (Ambler, 1994; World Bank, 1995). It is further argued that school choice will break the monopoly of the public sector over education and will increase much needed competition in the education sector. The claim that educational choice will provide poor families with the ability to share with wealthy families the power to seek the very best education for their children has become a potent political slogan for Newlib supporters promoting "new" education policy reform in the South.

One major problem in evaluating the feasibility of education choice in the South is that there is a paucity of evidence. However, a recent analysis of experiences in Europe (Britain, France, and the Netherlands) concluded that "the primary negative effect of school choice is its tendency to increase the educational gap between the privileged and the underprivileged" (Ambler, 1994, p. 470). Even though the gap already existed in public schooling, the European data suggested that whatever it merits in other respects, educational choice tends to intensify class segregation through the effects of different preferences and information costs. A recent study of a well-developed and long-operating voucher plan in Chile by Carnoy (1995) found three negative effects. First, there was a sharp fall in total spending on education even when parents' contributions were included. Second, middle and higher-income families predominantly benefited from the subsidized private schools, and third, the increase in pupil achievement predicted by

voucher proponents never occurred. Carnoy (1995) concluded that privatization increases inequality without making schools better, and even more significantly, privatization reduces the public effort to improve schooling since it relies on the free market to increase achievement, but the increase never occurs. Other studies by Pearson (1993), Astin (1992), and Lee (1993) reported negative effects of privatization or educational choice. What then are implications of this evidence for education policy in the South? The main implication is that despite the World Bank's attempts to suggest that no evidence exists that educational choice improves or worsens school performance (World Bank, 1995, p. 86), data from the experience of other countries strongly suggest that educational choice and/or privatization is not the answer, let alone the panacea to the education crises in the South.

Alternative strategies

Beyond the Newlib proposals, there is very little literature on alternative strategies for reducing costs and generating resources without affecting educational access, equity, efficiency, and quality. Nevertheless, most critics of Newlib agree that raising revenues through taxation remains the most important source of finance for education in the South. Given the evidence reviewed above, I agree that levying and managing most of the proposed cost-recovery measures seems to be much more complex than exploring ways of tapping into the existing tax systems. Some Newlib authors, such as Jimenez (1987) have argued that given the regressive nature of tax systems in the South, raising additional taxes would be as harmful to equity as would raising finance through user fees. However, as Colclough and Lewin (1993) argue, there is little evidence to support the charge that taxes in the South are necessarily regressive, and that statements asserting the ubiquity of regressive tax systems in the South need to be treated with considerable caution.

Proponents of taxation as a way of financing education argue that by using taxation, the risks of under-investment arising from the presence of externalities can be avoided (Jallade, 1978). Lockheed and Verspoor (1991, pp. 189-206) provide examples of viable special taxes introduced in Botswana, Brazil, and China for the purpose of raising finance for education. Finally, the World Bank (1995) has proposed the introduction of graduate payroll taxes and national service as an alternative to student loans. Graduate payroll taxes would be paid by employers of graduates and calculated as a proportion of the salaries paid to graduates by each employer. Graduate taxes would have several advantages over student loan schemes.

First, although it would initially raise labor costs, the overall impact would be small since graduates usually comprise less than five percent of total employment. Second, it would provide incentive for employers to economize on the use of graduates, particularly in countries where highly trained workers are few. Third, since the tax would be administered through the salary, graduates would not feel its impact directly. The main drawback is that no country yet has implemented a graduate payroll tax scheme, and thus, despite their potential, it will be some time before their feasibility can be assessed. In national service schemes, students are subsidized to attend higher education and then in turn subsidize society by providing work at below market prices (World Bank, 1995 p. 74). For example Nepal and Nigeria have had successful programs in which graduates went on to provide subsidized cheap labor in the social services in rural areas, and several countries, including the USA, are considering introducing such programs. The main

danger with national service schemes is that they run the risk of being turned into programs of guaranteed public employment for graduates.

Conclusion

There is little doubt that the neoliberal critique of the orthodox case for state provision of education has provided a formidable challenge. However, the neoliberal prognosis remains problematic and empirically weak. First, the imposition of user fees would increase access in terms of enrollment if resources generated are reinvested back to expand provision, and if excess social and individual demand remained high, and if the fees were reasonable enough to "persuade" the poor to pay them. Further, due to continuing sharp declines in real incomes, it is unlikely that the poor can afford to pay. The charging of fees at higher education is more plausible, but even there, due to severe economic and social conditions prevailing in the South, the general response to cost recovery is likely to be negative. It seems clear that other alternative strategies have to be explored. For most countries of the South, the main option is to examine strategies which would involve direct and indirect taxation without eroding the basis for protecting access and equity in education.

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On Trial: The Legal Basis and Role of Education in the New European Union

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This paper examines the legal basis of education in the Treaty on European Union and the role that it is assigned within the objectives of the Union. Taking as basic the belief that education is always a political exercise, the paper explores the legislation related to education in the Treaty and in the forty years of legal decisions previous to the signing of the Treaty, and concludes that education, as in so many similar situations, is subsumed under a half-concealed modernization project.

Shaul, in his oft-quoted foreword to Freire's "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" (1970), sets the stage for the analysis presented in this paper.

> There is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it or it becomes "the practice of freedom," the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. (p. 16).

Education is always a political exercise, taking on the role of either an integrator, or a liberator of those who participate in it. What then, is the role of education within the new European Union? More than ever before, this question deserves close examination, particularly since the entry into law of the Treaty on European Union. The Treaty on European Union, more commonly known as the Maastricht Treaty, was signed in Maastricht on the 7th of February, 1992. This is an historic occasion, as it strengthens and consolidates the original Treaty of Rome, which was signed in 1957. However, it has its origins in the Single European Act of 1987, which, for the first time, brought together three different communities: the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM), and the European Economic Community (EEC). The Treaty, as the European Commission (1994, p. 5) explains, "is intended to facilitate the development of the European Community into a political union and an Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)." The purpose of this paper is to explore the legal basis accorded to education in the Treaty, which is in itself, a legal document, and to understand its role within the context of political and economic union. Specifically, I wish to address the issue of why, for the first time in the history of European Community decision making, education has been accorded any status at all. In the original Treaty of Rome, the activities of the European Community were only directed towards vocational training, and education was left to the prerogatives of the individual sovereign states, as outlined in article 128 of the treaty. In articles 126 and 127 of Chapter 3, Title VIII of the Maastricht Treaty, however, a role has been specifically accorded to education, and also a distinction has been put in place between education and training in the context of European Union. This is a significant development, one with major implications for the role of adult education in Europe. As Rosenthal (1991, p. 278) puts it, "education policy, long viewed as an exclusive national prerogative, is now regarded as a vital instrument for creating a united Europe." In order to understand this

development, I will, first of all, provide an outline of the objectives of the European Union, explore the new powers that have been established for it, and address the significant changes to the Treaty of Rome; second, I will explore the legal competence of the Union generally, and specifically, in relation to education and training; finally, I want to connect these two sections in order to understand the reasoning behind this new emphasis on education. It should be stated that this *rationale*, to myself at least, is implicitly or explicitly connected to a system of values, and so this paper will not use traditional policy analysis, but rather, *critical* policy analysis in order to understand the new education policy of the European Union. White (1994) outlines the distinction between these two.

> It (critical policy analysis) emphasizes that value questions have to be explicitly included in analysis. Insofar as traditional policy studies uncritically accept existing preferences in a society and focus on means for accomplishing these rather than on the content of preferences or the policy goals, they are unable to deal with values. (p. 512)

Education, as Shaul pointed out, is never a politically neutral exercise. Likewise, values, by definition, can never be neutral. Exploring the *value* of *education* to, and in, the new European Union is what this paper is all about.

Section I: The Treaty on European Union

The signing of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) in Maastricht is just one more step in a process towards European integration that was started even before the Treaty of Rome. In fact, this process began in 1953, with the Draft Treaty on the European Political Community. This project faltered when the French National Assembly rejected the Treaty on the European Defence Community (EDC) which comprised a section of the Draft. Since then, several reports have been developed over the years (Fouchet Committee Report, Davignon Report, Tindemans Report, London Report) which bear testimony to the battles over European federalism and national sovereignty. In 1983, however, the Stuttgart Declaration on European Union paved the way for the coming into force of the Single European Act (SEA) in 1987. The event in Maastricht was the signing of the Treaty on this act. When we examine the objectives of European Union as laid out by the European Commission (1994, p. 9) we can better understand with what this lengthy process of European legislation, carried out over nearly 40 years, is concerned. In the Preamble to the TEU, the parties involved state that the main objective of European Union is to.

> promote economic and social progress for their peoples, within the context of the accomplishment of the internal market and of reinforced cohesion and environmental protection, and to implement policies ensuring that advances in economic integration are accompanied by parallel progess in other fields. (Preamble, n.p.)

Related to this, Article B of TEU states that one of the objectives is:

> to promote economic and social progess which is balanced and sustainable, in particular through the creation of an area without internal frontiers, through the strengthening of economic and social cohesion and through the establishment of economic and monetary union. (n.p.)

In these two statements, we have already a coterie of words and phrases which signify the implicit value system behind the signing of the TEU: "economic and social progress", "reinforced cohesion," "economic integration," "balanced and sustainable." All of these imply a functionalist viewpoint in which it is believed a consensus can be reached on issues of economic and social development *which are benefitting to all involved*. This type of language and the values that underline it are no different than those outlined in the Treaty of Rome. Both the Treaty of Rome and the Treaty on European Union are concerned with the integration of the member states, these states being Ireland, United Kingdom, Denmark, Portugal, France, Spain, Germany, Italy, Greece, Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg. Indeed, these *Western* European states form the cradle of modernizing thought, in which economic and social progress go hand in hand. This dual modernization project, however, only became an explicit part of the European Union Agenda with the Paris summit of 1972, since which "the member states have been concerned to promote a public rhetoric in which social affairs are accorded equal status with 'pure' economic integration" (Shaw, 1994, p. 298). Taking this at face value for the moment at least, the TEU takes on greater significance. It does so because the Treaty's entry into force not only means that the European Community acquires more powers, but that it acquires more powers in *social* policy decision making. In a section entitled "What is New in the Treaty on European Union?," the European Commission points to a common European currency by 1999, introduction of a common foreign and security policy, and increased powers for the European Parliament. These are all important developments, but for the purposes of this paper, it is the sub-part on "New Powers for the European Community" that tells a tale. Included in this section are the following:

> A more active role in consumer protection; public health; visa policy; the establishment of trans-European transport, telecommunications, and energy networks; treaty provision for development cooperation; industrial policy; education; culture; greater importance for environmental protection; an increase in research and development; further progress on social policy, cooperation in the fields of justice, and home affairs. (European Commission, 1994, p. 10).

The publication in which this information is provided is a European Commission effort to distribute information to the general public. This is significant, as this paragraph makes no attempt to hide the connections between areas of social policy (education, culture, public health) and areas concerned with economic and political decision-making. Indeed, in another section entitled "Education, Vocational Training and Youth" (1994) the European Commission provides a summary of the context in which they view education and training as playing a part.

> The accelerating pace of change in industry and completion of the single market call for greater adaptability and mobility of the workforce. These are two conditions that must be satisfied in order to bring down the persistently high levels of unemployment levels, particularly among young people, and to safeguard the competitive position of European industry on world markets. The Union Treaty therefore includes a chapter entitled "Education, Vocational Training and Youth." This will make it possible to step up the many measures already undertaken by the Community, in particular the financing of vocational training measures by the European Social Fund. (p. 15)

I want to now discuss the chapter identified in this quote, namely Chapter 3 of Title VIII, which the European Commission situate within this world of "change," "adaptability," "mobility," and "competition."

Section II: Law and Education in the European Community

As an introduction to this section, I want to quote Rosenthal (1991) who outlines what must be done to exploit the capacity of education policy in creating a united Europe. According to him, education policy should:

> contribute to creating the internal market by eliminating barriers to the free movement of persons and encouraging entreprenurial capacity on all levels; reinforce the integration of education into economic life and make the necessary changes in this area as the European market emerges; contribute to reducing regional disparities and increasing social cohesion in the community by integrating education and training with economic development policies in order to find solutions to the specific problems of least-favored areas. (p. 278)

Here we see the connection between education and integration that was discussed in the previous section. It adds to this discussion, however, because it points to a distinction between "negative integration" and "positive integration," negative in the sense of the removal of barriers to educational access, and positive in the sense of the introduction of more proactive measures to educate for "reinforced cohesion" such as the setting up of Community programs which train in foreign languages. I will explore these positive integration efforts later, but first of all, an important question needs to be asked: what is the legal basis for either negative or positive integration in relation to education and training? Before I explore this question, it is necessary to briefly examine the different types of legislation which the Community can impose. Basically, Community legislation is of four types (Harrop, 1989, p. 3):

1. *Regulations* which must be imposed and are directly applicable in the law of all member states;
2. *Directives* which are binding as to the ends to be achieved, but leave to the national authorities the means of introducing them;
3. *Decisions* which are addressed to specific groups, which are binding in their entirety;
4. *Recommendations* and *opinions* which have no binding legal force.

Community policy as regards vocational training takes the form of a directive, and has been under the partial jurisdiction of the European Community since the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957. Here, its directive policy status is enshrined in Article 128 and the Community's proactive stance towards it is legally enforced in Article 148, in which the Council is empowered "when acting on a proposal from the Commission and after having consulted the Economic and Social Committee, to lay down general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy capable of contributing to the harmonious development of both national economies and the E.C." (See Lodge, 1983, for a comprehensive outline of the different institutions involved in legislative decision making). This is not surprising, as vocational training is seen generally to go hand in hand with economic development. But the issue of education and its role in European

integration is less decisive. As Khan (1994) points out "laws of education and matters relating to it as such do not presently fall within the powers of the EC, but remain . . . matters of national competence" (p. 50). Because the European Community is not a nation state, education as such, is not within its direct jurisdiction. The word competence is significant here, as it signifies the boundaries between member states and the legislative bodies of the European community. Competence basically means that when issues of integration are seen to lie within the boundaries of European Community expertise, they can enforce legally binding policies on the member states in these areas. The "purely secondary nature of community competence in this field" (Shaw, 1992, p. 442) of educational policy means that their decisions on education do not, legally, have to be adhered to by the departments of education in member states. Indeed, in terms of the formulation and implementation of social policy, generally, the competence of the community is secondary to that of the member states. This was made clear in the Edinburgh Communique (Agency European, 1992) in the third paragraph of article 3B, which outlined the nature and extent of community action. Here, it is noted that:

> the form of action (in relation to social issues) should be as simple as possible, consistent with satisfactory achievement of the measure and the need for effective enforcement. The Community should legislate only to the extent necessary. Other things being equal, directives should be preferred to regulations and framework directives to detailed measures. Non-binding measures such as recommendations should be preferred where appropriate. Consideration should also be given where appropriate to the use of voluntary codes of conduct. (n.p.)

How then, does law relate to the wishes expressed by the Commission in its 1989 medium-term guidelines on education and training when it decides:

> to place education and training at the forefront of its priorities to spearhead a new community-wide commitment to invest in people, in their skills, their creativity, and their versatility. . . . Their emphasis provides an essential bridge between economic and social policies, and is also a key factor in promoting the free movement and exchange of ideas in addition to the four freedoms (goods, services, capital, and persons) provided for in the Treaty of Rome. (European Commission, 1992).

It is clear that the European Community wishes to play a role in both the formulation and implementation of policies related to education, with vocational training already a part of their mandate. In fact, they do play a very important role in both of these activities, regardless of the secondary nature of their legal competence, and in order to understand this, it is necessary to examine, first of all, Article 128 of the Treaty of Rome and its reception in the European Court since then.

The Role of Article 128: Shaw (1994) states that Article 128 EEC was "one of the provisions of the original Treaty of Rome that was ripe for reformulation by the member states" (p. 307). For many years, the regulatory potential (ie, its legally-binding power) was more or less unexplored. Certain cases, however, that have been processed through the European Court, in particular *Casagrande v. Landeshamptstadt Munchen, Gravier v. City of Liege*, and *Blaizot v. University of Liege*, have propelled education and training to attain a more central role within the European

Community. I will briefly outline these cases, paying special attention to the changing roles of education and training in terms of negative and positive integration, and distinctions that have been made between education and vocational training.

Casagrande, Gravier, and Blaizot: The 1974 case of *Casagrande* pointed the way to the future place of education within the boundaries of Community competence. It stated that:

> although educational and training policy is not as such intended in the spheres which the treaty has entrusted to the Community institutions, it does not follow that the exercise of powers transferred to the Community is in some ways limited if it is of such a nature as to effect the measures taken in the execution of a policy such as that of education and training. (Cited in Shaw, 1992, p. 418).

The second step in affirming the legal competence of the Community in education and training policy was taken with the Gravier (1985) case, in which Sir Gordon Slynn, Advocate General of the European Court of Justice, explained that:

> although educational organization and policy are not as such included in the spheres which the treaty has entrusted to the Community institutions, access to and participation in courses of instruction and apprenticeship, in particular vocational training, are not unconnected with Community law. (Cited in Kalin, 1994, p. 51).

Both of these cases deal with issues of access and mobility among European member states and, as such, qualify as negative integration policies in that they deal with barriers to education and training. As Shaw (1994, p. 419) points out, however, they also raise issues of "positive integration" or "economic and social cohesion." A prime example of this is the development of the "European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students," better known as ERASMUS. According to Kahn (1994), ERASMUS is intended to "provide an exchange of students and staff of educational institutions, development of common educational programs, and establishment of facilities for studying abroad within the European Community" (p. 52). It is a positive integration effort based on the negative integration issue of the removal of boundaries, and it is Article 128 which is widely accepted as triggering the positive integration effort of ERASMUS (Shaw, 1994, p. 431). Article 128, when combined with Article 7 of the Treaty of Rome which deals with the issue of general discrimination in terms of the four freedoms, has the power to deal with both types of integration. This is because *both discrimination and "economic and social cohesion" are part of the European Community mandate*. Other programs which can be described as positive integration steps, and that have their legal basis in negative integration legislation include TEMPUS, which encourages mobility of staff and students, LINGUA, which promotes improvements of foreign language competence, and COMETT, which promotes cooperation between higher education and industry in training and technology (see Jones, 1991, for a more detailed account of these programs).

Another important aspect that needs to be considered is the distinction between education and training. In the original Treaty of Rome, no mention at all was made of education, only of vocational training. The boundaries between education and training, however, became an issue in the *Gravier* case. Here, the Court held that:

> any form of vocational training which prepares for a qualification for a particular profession, trade or employment or which provides the necessary training and skills for such a profession, trade or employment is vocational training, whatever the age and the level of training of the pupils or students, and even if the training programme includes an element of general education. (Case 293/83, cited in Gould, 1989, p. 542)

This rather wide-ranging interpretation of Article 128 was held up in the *Blaizot* case (1988), in which university studies were included under the banner of vocational training. Here, the Advocate General advised "in general, university studies fulfill (vocational training) criteria." Of course, these kinds of decisions provide a legal basis for a reformulation and implementation of Community policies related to education, on the back of a policy (128) that wasn't designed with this in mind at all.

Education and Community Law: The Present day Situation: With the introduction of the Maastricht Treaty, a major change has occured in relation to education. There is now a distinction made between education and training. In Chapter 3 of Title VIII, there are two Articles, Articles 126 and 127. Article 126 deals with the issue of "quality education," while Article 127 is concerned with vocational training. Now we have education being accorded a different status as a community policy under Article 126. Whereas Article 127, parapraph 1, states that the Community shall "implement" a vocational training policy, Article 126, paragraph 1, states that the Community shall:

> *contribute* to the development of quality education, by encouraging cooperation between member states and, if necessary, by supplementing their action. . . . (my italics) (n.p.).

There is a difference between "implementing" and "contributing" to a policy. Shaw (1994, p. 308) calls Article 126 a "flanking policy," a policy in which the Community can make recommendations in terms of national educational policy. Now, although there is no legally binding policy in terms of education, one could call Article 126 a legally *guiding* policy. When discussing the financial aspect of Article 126, Shaw (1994) hints at this legal guidance in relation to member states:

> [F]unding programmes in the broader educational sphere will also be capable of receiving support out of the Community's own financial appropriations. This gives the Community an increased role through the "carrot and stick" approach of selective funding to encourage the development of educational initiatives which foster the spirit and practice of European integration, including in particular language training, mobility of students and teachers, and enhanced mutual recognition, all topics cited expressely in Article 126. (p. 309)

Shaw has inadvertently identified the crucial theme in terms of European law and education. It is the carrot and stick approach, with the carrot being the large amounts of social and structural funds available to the European Community, and the stick being the legal guidance contained in Articles 126 and 127, which provides the European Union with the power to shape the educational policies of member states. Indeed, it is the lack of a definition of "quality" education (and for that matter, a definition of vocational training in Article 127) that holds the most

implications for the formulation and implementation of policies related to *adult* education. Although there is no express mention of adult education anywhere in the Treaty on European Union, it is fair to say that its role is implied throughout both Article 126 and 127. And, with the power that the European Community now has in terms of education, the financial carrot that dangles in the face of member states will ensure that a great deal of adult education, particularly in the four poorest countries (Ireland, Spain, Portugal, and Greece) will be legally guided towards practices that, in theory at least, result in "economic and social cohesion," i.e., positive integration, to the obvious detriment of programs that are not concerned with integration. Specifically, it can be said that more money will go to "back to work" programs than to, for example, gay rights education groups.

Section III: Integration and Education in the European Community

It should be clear, through exploring the context of the Treaty on European Union and the progress of education policy through the history of European legislation, that the rationale behind the legal guidance of education is the strengthening of the European social fabric. Integration and cohesion are words right out of textbooks on functionalist sociology, and it is this Parsonian framework which, consciously or otherwise, limits the scope and effectiveness of adult education in general. Indeed, it is the type of education that leads to economic and social cohesion that can be defined, in Freirian terms, as "domestication," i.e., the educating of adults so that they can more effectively take their place within the structures of European Union. In fact, by examining the reception of Article 128 EEC in the European Court of Justice, it has become clear that the ethical basis of social justice legislation in the Community is itself framed by the values associated with integration and cohesion. The formulation of Articles 126 and 127, with their roots in Article 128 EEC, reproduces this system of values. And when these values are placed alongside what the European Community views as *development*, it is not difficult to understand the theory behind the practice. No amount of Euro-jargon can hide the fact that the European Union is just another modernization project complete, as we see below, with the language of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund:

> "In a Community such as the European Union, the richer and more developed regions must shoulder part of the burden of structural adjustment in the less advantaged regions and redeployment in the older industrial sectors" (European Commission, 1994, p. 46).

Education in this context is only to the blind an apolitical force. The explicit connection that is made between *personal* change and *political* progress is carried out in a sphere of values and beliefs that completely ignore power relations. The notion of class, for a start, with its implications for conflict, is completely avoided in the European Community literature (see Holland, 1980, for an excellent critique of this European amnesia). It is also taken as a given that economic progress of the sort envisioned by the Community (i.e., top-down) is ethically the best solution to economic and social problems. Education has come to be viewed as playing a key role in this solution as *the* integrative force par excellence. Another context within which the integrative function of Community education legislation should be understood is the global context. The European Community does not exist in a global vacuum. In fact, the European Commission explicitly states (already indicated earlier) that one of the Treaty's objectives is to compete on an international economic scene which is increasingly becoming more competitive.

Although the name changed from European Economic Community to European Community, it is clear that the main goal of the Maastricht treaty is still economic growth, with social issues subsumed under this need. The new world economic order demands it. It is no surprise then, that the TEU is, as Shaw (1994) puts it, "neo-liberal business as usual" (p. 298).

What is most ominous is the literature on the role of adult education in this new Europe, written by adult educators (see Lungdaard, 1993; Nuissl, 1994; Oglesby & Bax, 1993). Here we see a scramble to be "on-side," with implicit acceptance of the modernization project that lies behind the Treaty. Although the language is humanist and faithful to the learner-centered values of adult education as we know them, these commentators accept as givens the role of the market and its connection to social progress. As Nuissl (1994, p. 23) puts it, "it is precisely adult and continuing education which will fulfill essential social and integrative functions in society." If we need an example of how adult educators can disempower through benevolent means, there is no need to look any further.

Conclusion

Regardless of whether or not the European Union can be said to be "guilty" of appropriating education for purposes of economic and political integration, it is fair to conclude that the judicial system of the European Union is guilty of viewing education in general as playing only one possible role: integrating European citizens into what Shaul terms "the logic of the present system." This logic, which includes particular notions of development, economics, politics, and democracy, is seen as a given, as is the notion of education as subservient to this particular system of beliefs. The whole debate, if you can call it that, around the development of a new Europe and the role of education within this development, denies any space to alternative ways of development, and while this debate is situated within a seemingly rational discourse, its denial of alternative or other ways of knowing, and implicit condemnation of these as irrational modes of thought, contribute to an awareness that its systems of justification are built on arbritrary notions dressed up as universal truths. Indeed, its legal system, intentionally or not, only concerns itself with questions of integration into the new European Union and is impenetrable to questions of liberation from its system of logic. The question is, is *this* legal?

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Organizational Learning and Control: A Critical Examination of HRD and The Politics of Workplace Discipline

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> What men [sic] learn as they work for a living reaches far beyond their occupational interests; they learn a style of life, a manner of dealing with others, a habit of subordination or assertiveness -- Robert E. Lane

Work and globalization

It has become almost axiomatic to state that we are undergoing a fundamental shift in the way in which work is organized. The world of work, we are told, is a world in which taken-for-granted assumptions are being shaken and displaced. The current situation has been characterized in economic terms as a period of revitalized accumulation based on globalization--the integration of the economies of nation-states through market mechanisms accompanied by the transitional flexibility of capital and labor markets and the new forms of information technology which enables new forms of production, distribution and consumption. Thus we have seen a shift away towards post-Fordist form of work organization, especially in situations, where customized design and service displaces mass production.[1] These post-Fordist forms are manifested in flatter management structures, a decline of centralized trade union power and a demand for a "multi-skilled" workforce. Marketization as a culture of consumption become central to the economy as a whole. These trends, of course, have not been experienced evenly across the world. Indeed, most organizations are still organized along bureaucratic, Fordist lines. Indeed, most work still requires cheap, unskilled, and increasingly internationalized labor.[2] Nevertheless, key industries and workers have been restructured and new forms of management have been introduced. The recent developments in information technology, the media, transportation and advances in communication have been a significant factor in this globalization and restructuring.

Along with this restructuring and post-Fordist production forms new systems of management have been developed. Replacing older, positivistic notions of managing as linear, logical-rational process, these newer ways of thinking about how to organize and manage organizations have radically transformed management theory. Using the language of total quality management, worker empowerment, and self-organization, and most significantly for the purposes of this paper, learning, these new ways of thinking about organizations have attempted to reshape the relationship between worker and employee. This paper argues that these new management forms have shifted worker control from authoritarian forms to psychological forms. As Grenier, in a study of quality circles, has noted "most anti-union battles are now waged inside the heads of workers. . . "[3] Central to these newer forms of psychological control are notions of learning and human resource development. The rest of this paper will trace the development of these forms of control.

From scientific management to human resource development

The clearest and most influential modernistic way of organizing work is scientific management. Based on the works of Frederick Taylor, scientific management (or Taylorism) applied "science" to organizing work. Traditional worker skills would be replaced by scientific analysis. Jobs were to be broken down into their smallest parts, job tasks were strictly defined and hierarchical structures were to provide logical rational means of control. All problems, it was argued, would give way to technical solutions. Efficiency and rationality became the gods of industry. Taylorism, however, was more than just a narrow efficiency model for production. Taylorism opened the door for the scientific study of human behavior. The famous Hawthorne studies, conducted at the Western Electric plant near Cicero, Illinois were the first to apply scientific study of human behavior in industry. Rather than being a reaction against Taylorism, the Hawthorne studies, and the entire human relations movement in industry can be seen as bringing science, in the form of psychology into the realm of human relations on the shop floor. The human factor in production became subject to scientific investigation through the new discipline of industrial psychology.[4] Moreover, human relations became a tool for anti-union activities. Thus reasons for union activity could be explained in scientific, psychological ways. For example, one early industrial psychologist explained workers desire to join unions this way:

> [The union] may tell him what to do. He no longer has to think for himself. . . . Once he has been relieved of personal responsibility for his actions, he is free to commit aggressions which his conscience would ordinarily hold in check. When this is the case, his conscience will trouble him little, no matter how brutal and anti-social his behavior.[5]

Training, too, took on a new face during the 1950s. Rather than focusing on just technical training, corporate trainers began focusing on interpersonal skills training. This "human relations" training fit quite well with the newly emerged personnel function. With unions removed from personnel decisions, corporations were faced with the task of managing and controlling the workforce. Human relations training with its emphasis in the behavioral sciences became an important vehicle for finding mechanisms to control the activities on the shop floor. Skill in this approach, was secondary to process. How to motivate workers became the dominate issue.[6] By the 1950s, human relations training had become an effective way to control workers. Bartiz comments that:

> Through motivation studies, through counseling, through selection devices calculated to hire only certain types of people, through attitudinal surveys, communication, role playing, and all the rest in the bag of schemes, social science slowly moved towards a science of behavior. A new slick approach to the problem of control. Authority gave way to manipulation, and workers could no longer be sure if they were being exploited.[7]

More recently the human relations turn in workplace education took different direction. The crises that American corporations faced in the 1970s coupled with new emerging technologies, required newer forms of learning and newer, more sophisticated forms of control.

Organizational learning and the new worker.

During the 1980s the call for a new agenda for education and training reached its crescendo. Corporate agendas called for workers who are responsible, adaptable, enterprising problem solvers with appropriate communication skills, thinking skills, and the capacity for lifelong learning all wrapped up in team approaches to work organization focusing on quality.[8] Commenting on the creation of human resource management (HRM), the umbrella under which most contemporary training is administered, one commentor noted that ". . . HRM is a coherent and distinct concept which . . . appears to usher in an approach to the management of employees which emphasizes employer commitment and involvement and a relatively caring concern for the employees while simultaneously integrating policy with strategic business objectives."[9] In this conception HRD is a way of facilitating employee responsibility, commitment and involvement. In this brave new world, education, labor, and management interests all coincide.

However, as Douglas Noble has argued, such a discourse, through couched in the language of worker participation and knowledge, actually masks a new (some have called it a post-modern) way to control workers. Growing out of human relations approach to management and coupled with the new sophisticated management theory of total quality management (TQM), this new development in workforce education focuses on changing worker participation as a means of control for the purpose of restructuring large segments of the American workforce.[10]

Rather than skills, the new worker is asked to develop new attitudes on the job, masked in the language of skills. Lund and Hansen in a study of new worker requirements state that the most important skill required by the new worker is the ability and willingness to take individual responsibility for a part of the production process. Thus responsible behavior becomes the most important skill. Indeed the language itself is framed within psychological notions of control. Workers, according to Lund and Hansen, need to develop mature and sophisticated skills of cooperation and forego rules that constrain the range of work an individual can do.[11] Similarly, a U.S. Department of Labor report states that the most important skills of the new worker are personal management skills, the ability to be motivated, to set goals and to achieve self esteem. They must, the report argues "be responsible for his or her own career development and job security." In other words, the new worker is asked to show commitment, motivation and obedience to the organization while expecting little in return beyond the opportunity to have a job. Included in this is a willingness to accept increased responsibility for decision making, customer satisfaction, increased communication skills all while being a team player. These so-called skills, Noble has argued, are largely an assault in worker protection to ensure worker adaptability to corporate decisions concerning products, markets, production process, and the technologies in a global economy.[12]

At the base of all these new attitudes lies the ability to learn. Learning has become the central function of an organization and its workers. With the short life cycle of products, a move away from mass to customized products, workers, so the argument goes, have to constantly engage in learning. Workers have to be multiskilled. However, these new jobs will require little technical skills. Lund and Hansen, in a survey of employers found:

> . . . the term technical skill was being used to describe a familiarity and ability to feel "comfortable" with technical processes, principally computers. It was felt that people will be needed who are not intimidated by . . . CRT displays and who are able to interact with these displays to obtain required information and issue appropriate commands.[13]

Thus, as Noble notes, the ability to learn is a shallow substitute for real learning. It is adaptability, but not in the sense of intelligent wherewithal and cleverness; rather it is the kind of flexibility with no inherent direction of its own.[14] Learning if this kind is the adjustment of people, viewed as one of several resources in the production process.

In the literature on total quality management, this type of learning is combined with an emphasis on worker participation that further masks elements of worker control. Over a decade ago, Peters and Watermaan, celebrated the new people oriented-management of American corporations by noting the simple control methods of "excellent" companies. These simple controls are made possible by creating a corporate culture whose values can be internalized by employees, thus internalizing control. Grenier has called this form of control "de-bureaucratized control." He states

> Depending more on the managers skills that on bureaucratic regulations, more on the call to voluntarism than in the appeal of authority, the trick is to make workers feel that their ideas count, and their originality is valued while disguising the expansion of managerial prerogatives into the manipulative area of pop psychology.[15]

Grenier's conclusion may not go far enough. One of the central tenets of the learning organization is that there are numerous ways, orientations and practices which, according to its supporters, enables an organization to effect the heroic achievement of integrating corporate interest of a company and its employees. Indeed, the objective is no longer to control humans at work but to seamlessly integrate work and life under the auspices of the corporation. Thus, in summing up the lessons of the Japanese management for Americans, Pascale and Athos state:

> What is needed in the West is a "Spiritualism" that *enables a firm's superordinate goals to respond truly to the inner meanings that many people seek in their work*--or alternatively, seek in their lives and could find at work if only it were culturally acceptable. (italics added)[16]

This type of thinking has its roots in human relations, updated with the language of the learning organization. Such an ideology, is particularly appealing to managers. For, as Rose notes:

> What, after all, could be more appealing than to be told that one's subordinates are non-logical; that their uncooperativeness is a frustrated urge to collaborate; that their demands for cash mask a need for approval, and that you have a historic destiny as a broker of social harmony.[17]

Conclusion

This paper has argued that post-Fordist forms of work organization have given rise to new post-positivist management approaches. These management approaches, framed in the language of worker participation and quality are newer and more sophisticated ways to control workers. Growing out of the human relations aspect of HRD, these forms of workplace discipline rely on learning as a central component in controlling the workforce.

Moveover, the language of learning is couched as being enlightened, democratic and benevolent. HRD is the employment of techniques and practices which seek to span the gap between corporate interest and the interests of employees. Thus employee's values are to be congruent with the employer's organizational values. Total Quality Management (TQM), the handmaiden of HRD, with its emphasis on supposedly ceding decision making responsibilities to workers and its flatter management structure, and its supposed ability to enrich jobs is touted as an antidote to rigid, bureaucratic forms of control.

However, this flattening of the organization results in a centralization of power in that layers of bureaucracy are now stripped away, leaving top managers more in control of information and workers. Secondly, worker empowerment is limited to decision making within norms established by the organization. Thus work teams are allowed to organize their work but only within preexisting norms and values. Finally, HRD and TQM, with their emphasis on organic as opposed to mechanistic (Taylorist) forms of control seeks to discipline both informal relationships in workplace and the possibility of pursuing alternative actions. In other words, if both workers and management are "in this together" then issues of power, issues of who controls whom is hidden under the cloak of unitary goals. Workplace discipline, in this form, is now the province of a team. Thus the team now disciplines those workers that don't produce, be it with regard to quality, productivity, absenteeism, or poor attitude. Thus vertical discipline has been replaced by a horizontal discipline in which peer pressure operates through the team as members seek to sanction and correct those who jeopardize or criticize established values. The result, as this paper has argued, are new and powerful forms of psychological control masked in humanistic language of learning.

End Notes

1. By post-Fordist I mean work organization that reflect management theories of flexibility niche-based marketing strategy, multi-skilled workforce, flexible manufacturing and team approached to work as opposed to Fordist means of production based on notions of mass production, assembly line, bureaucratized and specialized work force. See Piore and Sabel, *The Second Industrial Divide* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

2. See Foley, "Adult Education and Capitalist Reorganization," in *Studies in the Education od Adults*, 26 (October 1994): 121-143, for a critique of the post-Fordist scenario.

3. Guillermo J. Grenier, *Inhuman Relations* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988): 185-186.

4. See L. Baritz, *The Servants of Power: A History of the Use of Social Science in American Industry*. Middletown, CN: Weslyan University Press, 1960; R. Edwards, *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Basic Books, 1979. For a critique of the Hawthorne studies see R. Bendix and L.H. Fisher, "The perspectives of Elton Mayo," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 31 (1949): 312-321.

5. R. McMurray, *Handling Personality Adjustments in Industry* (New York: Wiley, 1994): 15, cited in Grenier, Inhuman Relations, 172.

6. See F. M. Schied, "How did Humans Become Resources Anyway? HRD and the Politics of Learning in the Workplace". Paper presented at the 1995 Adult Education Research Conference, University of Alberta: Edmonton Alberta, May 1995.

7. L. Baritz, *Servants of Power*, 209.

8. See, for example, V.J. Marsick and K. Watkins, *Sculpting the Learning Organization*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass; 1993; P.M. Senge, *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Science if the Learning Organization*. New York: Doubleday, 1990.

9. G. Sewell and B. Wilkenson, "Empowerment or Emasculation? Shopfloor surveillance in a total quality organization." In P. Blyton and P. Turnbull, eds. *Reassessing Human Resource Management*. London: Sage, 1992: 98.

10. See D.D. Noble, *The Classroom Arsenal: Military Research, Information Technology and Public Education*. New York: Falmer, 1991; Idem, "High-tech skills: The latest corporate assault on workers." In S.H. London, E.R. Tarr, and J.F. Wilson, *The Re-education of the American Working Class*, New York: Westport, 1990.

11. R.T. Lund and J.A. Hansen, *Keeping America at Work-Strategies for Employing New Technologies*. New York: John Wiley, 1986; A.P. Carnevale, et al.., *Workplace Basics: The Skills Employers Want*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department if Labor, 1988.

12. D. D. Noble, "High Tech Skills: The Latest Corporate assault on workers" in *The Re-education of the American Working Class*. Ed. S.H. London, E.R. Tarr, J.F. Wilson. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

13. Lund and Hansen, *Keeping America at Work*, p.100

14. Noble, "High-tech skills."

15. Grenier, *Inhuman Relations*, p. 131.

16. R.T. Pascale and A.G. Athos. *The Art of Japanese Management*. Harmondsworth, UK, Penguin 1982: 192.

17. M. Rose, *Industrial Behavior*. Harmondsworth, UK, Penguin, 1975: 124.

Traditional versus "New" Education: The Problem Defined

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Educational theory has largely been dichotomous in nature; each side of the debate claiming superiority in terms of resources, pedagogy, and instruction. Drawn primarily from essentialist curricula, the mainstay of latter nineteenth century education, traditional pedagogy sought to reinforce cultural values of the dominant societal system while imparting knowledge necessary to its perpetuation. Consequently, traditional pedagogy relied upon a rigid paradigm of external discipline, with the teacher being personified as an "agent of society:" an intrinsic link and mediator between society's wishes for its destiny and the progress of that destiny amidst an atmosphere of self-stagnation. Thus, traditional education could perhaps best be described as a retrograde effort; a deliberate and purposeful regression away from creative intellectualism characterizing a progressive society. Students in this particular paradigm learn best by looking toward the past; knowledge is transmitted from the collective assembly of ancient scholars with one singularity of purpose: to prove as Voltaire's Dr. Pangloss once explained to Candide that this is the "best of all possible worlds."

Conversely, "new" or progressive education is both a celebration and exercise in creative individuality; the genius of invention which propels society forward. Similarly, curricula in a progressive educational system embraces free activity and inquiry of students as pupils construct their own phenomenological fields of perception. For instance, rather than merely reading Greek philosophical treatises extolling the merits of Athenian democracy and its later corollaries, students create their own governmental structures within the classroom environment and are intrinsically shaped by their endeavors. Teachers in a progressive system are undoubtedly shaped as well; serving as facilitators to student participation rather than as catalysts to pupil apathy. Thus, substituting experience for rote, progressive educators promote an ever-growing acquaintance with a changing world.

John Dewey, perhaps the leading proponent of progressive education, seeks not to navigate <u>via media</u> between pedagogical extremes; rather, Dewey wishes to introduce a "new order of conceptions" leading to "new modes of practice." (Dewey, 1938; p. 15) For Dewey, pedagogy and its related instruction should be compatible with a procedure of scientific method: how the world is studied; acquires knowledge of meanings and values; and how outcomes should be studied relative to practical experience. Thus, Dewey sees learning situations as having both longitudinal and lateral dimensions; expressed in the exploration of historical and social information. Opposed to the traditional scheme of education as being one of imposition, Dewey characterizes progressivism as empowerment, a process by which students master information and are not mastered by it. Though, by Dewey's admission, progressive education and schools do not solve the problems of a malleable world, they nevertheless illuminate new interpretations and approaches to age-old problems which can be worked out within a philosophy of experience.

Yet, the conundrum of progressive education and educators still remains: "What is the place and meaning of subject matter and of organization <u>within</u> experience?" (Dewey, 1938; p. 20) In other

words, can a symbiosis be practically achieved within classroom contexts which give equal weight and validity between what actually existed within past achievements and what exists now in present issues? Therefore, it is the purpose of this article to generally examine Dewey's progressivism in light of its contrast to traditional education and relate Dewey's theory to the current pedagogical phenomena of performance and portfolio assessments; considered by this author to be a pragmatic application of experiential learning.

Dewey's Pedagogy: A Revolution of Intellectual Inquiry

Dewey's thought, indivisible from the cultural milieu of his time, frames not only his theories but clearly connotes his reform of traditional pedagogy. Born out of the reformist passions emerging as a roaring fire from the cold embers of retrograde intellectualism, progressive education represented a needed salvation for common humanity; a prescription for the general malaise of impassivity affecting nineteenth century schools. In his Pedagogic Creed, a frontispiece to Dewey's beliefs about public education, this great expositor of practical pedagogy succinctly summarizes his "vision of the nature, purpose, and inevitable progress" of scholarly endeavor:

> I believe that all education proceeds by the participation of the individual in the social consciousness of the race. This process begins unconsciously almost at birth, and is continually shaping the individual's powers, saturating his consciousness, forming his habits, training his ideas, and arousing his feelings and emotions. Through this unconscious education the individual gradually comes to share in the intellectual and moral resources which humanity has succeeded in getting together. He becomes an inheritor of the funded capital of civilization. The most formal and technical education in the world cannot safely depart from this general process. It can only organize it or differentiate it in some particular direction. (Dewey, 1897; p. 19)

Thus, Dewey provided a pedagogical renaissance for educators intimately concerned with training progenitors of a liberal age laden with increasing complexities of both technological and scientific natures. Teachers armed now with Dewey's progressivism could finally bring the world within the classroom, and with the skill of a deft surgeon dissect it to its quintessence. Through Dewey's aid, Marx, Mead, Darwin, Sinclair, et al could be freshly presented in a manner not contraindicated by antecedent efforts of Americanization. Marx's concept of "alienated labor," once thought to be antithetical to traditional expressions of democracy, can now be seen as "humanistic windows" to the state and disposition of the mortal soul as it struggles against the anomie and helplessness of technologically advanced societies. Mead's "social behaviorism," once considered an anthropological consequence of collective progress can now, through Dewey's contribution to classroom methodology, be extrapolated to include even primal societies of hunter-gatherer groups. Darwin's theories of human evolution via Dewey are released from either morphological considerations or phrenetic head measurements to embrace social psychological issues impacting upon cultural questions in the ante-bellum South existing previously before the United States Civil War. And, Sinclair, the classic muckraker that exposed societal corruption and graft in the Chicago stockyards of the last century can now be reinterpreted by high school students as a contemporary application of equitable business principles which can be utilized on an interglobal scale. Indeed, progressivism represented for Dewey and those of his intellectual

persuasion what theology meant for Thomas Aquinas: a regina scientia; a Queen of Sciences whereby education takes a prominent and titular place among cultural institutions comprising the societal fabric of human existence as Dworkin writes:

> In education, progressivism brought together several familiar tendencies-but with contemporary modifications. One tendency was a romantic emphasis upon the needs and interests of the child, in the tradition of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel-but now colored and given scientific authority by the new psychology of learning and behavior. Another was the democratic faith in the instrument of the common, or public school, inherited from Jefferson and Mann-but now applied to the problems of training the urban and rural citizenry for industrial and agricultural vocations, and of acculturating or Americanizing the swelling masses of immigrants. By the time Dewey moved to Columbia University in 1904, he was truly the leading theoretician and spokesman of the movement. But his leadership then-and, indeed, from then on-was largely that of a reverently misinterpreted prophet rather than of a carefully obeyed commander." (1959, p. 9)

Dewey's revolution in pedagogy can also be considered as being natural whereas traditional paradigms were pervaded by artifialistic environments and curricula. Dewey believed, as did many astute educational psychologists, that the school is both a reflection and showcase for what learning occurs in the home; and that ". . . the school, as an institution, should simplify existing social life" by reducing it ". . . to an embryonic form." (Dewey, 1897; p. 23) Accordingly, in a comparative sense, curricula and instruction should not be divorced from the vicissitudes of life; abated to an array of disjointed data which cannot be easily organized into a cognitive framework by the learner. In this respect, Dewey is sympathetic toward traditional education since it provides a pragmatic continuity between the continuum of home and school. However, Dewey goes further in positing that social life per se is inseparable from early formative experience. Dewey puts it this way with regard to social gestation as it occurs in familial environments:

> "I believe that this is a psychological necessity, because it is the only way of securing continuity in the child's growth, the only way of giving a back-ground of past experience to the new ideas given in school." (Dewey, 1897; p. 23)

Similar to birthing infants in aquatic tanks to minimize transitional anxiety from uterus to externality, Dewey advocates an educational "birthing" within a philosophy of mediation providing a contiguous relationship between what has been learned and what will be learned throughout instruction at various levels of pedagogical complexity.

With this Pedagogic Creed, Dewey presents a fundamental criticism of traditional education in that essentialist curricula negates the school as a "form of community life." (Dewey, 1897; p. 23) Dewey sees traditional schools as places of social equilibrium; repositories where certain information is disseminated, learned, and eventually regurgitated in almost identical vernacular as what was presented. If the child did not replicate this information in a configuration conformable to that of the lesson's intent, he or she was often berated as an intellectual inferior or even as a nefarious subversive mitigating against the hallowed bastions of civilized democracy. This procedure of "mis-education" as Dewey calls it denigrates the pupil's creativity; relegating it to

the status of a nonentity. The unity of work and thought is thus destroyed, with the student lapsing into a methodology and mind-set of docility. Students are given a modus operandi for being responsive instead of reactive; the school itself serving as a prison for past indiscretions against the evolution of intellectual inquiry. Subject matter as well should be emblematic of an educator's commitment to engender "latitudes of learning" which student participants select themselves as their parameters of inquiry; perhaps Jack London's ethical literary portrait of Eskimo life and social transactions may be more salutary in a multicultural world than Shakespearean adages based upon a cultural homogenization of "upper crust" dowagers. Dewey visualizes literature as more than merely an exercise in grammatical composition; writing, geography, and history likewise must have direct relation to the cultural milieu which produced them or they are useless. He says:

> I believe that at present we lose much of the value of literature and language studies because of our elimination of the social element. Language is almost always treated in the books of pedagogy simply as the expression of thought. It is true that language is a logical instrument, but it is fundamentally and primarily a social instrument. Language is the device for communication; it is the tool through which one individual comes to share the ideas and feelings of others. When treated simply as a way of getting individual information, or as a means of showing off what one has learned, it loses its social motive and end. . . . I believe finally that education must be conceived as a continuing reconstruction of experience; that the process and goal of education are one and the same thing. (Dewey, 1897; p. 27)

Dewey's Primary Criticism of Progressivism: Either Utility or Culture?

Above all Dewey was a figure of fairness and impartiality; he laid bare both the pros and cons of the progressive movement with regard to education as it truly was: an alternative to traditional pedagogical methods. Continuing, Dewey formulated his apologetic against opponents from even within the progressive educational movement, by elucidating an affinity between labor and leisure. Dewey argued that labor and leisure, though usually thought of in modern society as being two separate entities are in reality two sides of the same coin. In fact, Dewey alludes to the premise that the origins of this sharp dichotomy between labor and leisure pervaded Grecian society; composed of both free and slave. Education though in the birthplace of Athenian democracy was horribly classist; children of nobles and government officials were given instruction in the roots of Western civilization, while slaves and other menials were given simple indoctrination into the reasons why they must be subjugated to the greater good. In our society Dewey contended that as the Athenians we have two types of education: one of utility and another for culture. As slaves indoctrinated to serve the interests of dominant social strata, pupils in Dewey's day were given utilitarian education in traditional schools; that education engineered to provide an occupation commensurate with social standing. Yet, those within American society who have come far afield of their immigrant status received a vastly different type of education; that of a foray into liberal cultural foundations designed to promote individuality and creativity of thought. Perhaps one can argue that the vocational movement in American education inspired and inculcated in the Conant Report, is a consequence of the dichotomy between utility and culture; often lower socioeconomic classes were herded in droves into vocational programs in the 1950's

under the pretense that such education would ultimately improve their lot in American society. Even tracking, sometimes a systematic method of social control and manipulation, fed the interests of this duplicity of instructional purpose, supplying both the resources for graduation and perpetuating the racism which inherently abides within educational structures. Progressive schools saw this dichotomy between utility and culture as a line of demarcation; a method of categorizing social classes via an identifying mark of intellectual pilgrimages into "Elysian fields of erudition." Dewey, however, saw this interpretation by progressive schools of neglecting education to promote useful labor as a dangerous caveat; a possibility to sharply divide society into a confederation of masters and slaves with vocational education being a definitive entity of a subjugated class. Horne writes that:

> Labor is a necessity. It supplies the resources of living. There is nothing about it that should lead to the neglect or contempt of the kind of education preparing for it. Such neglect is due to a division of social classes which should not exist. It may be claimed that getting a living is material and that enjoying leisure is higher; it may also be claimed that material interests are engrossing, insubordinate striving to usurp the place of higher ideal interests. Let the claims be admitted! Still, the solution would not be to neglect useful education, leading to evil results flourishing in obscurity. It would be to exercise scrupulous care to train for useful pursuits, while keeping them in their place. But let useful education be identified with the interests of an inferior social class, then it suffers from both neglect and contempt. It is society, not necessity, that rigidly identifies work with material interests and leisure with ideal interests. (1932, pp. 346-347)

A Practical Application of Dewey's Progressivism: Performance and Portfolio Assessments

In the past few years, educational researchers have begun to criticize subject-centered curricula as an archaic attempt to provide "content-continuity" with respect to instruction. Single-subject curricula, perhaps the oldest pedagogical device, are undoubtedly the greatest offenders of "content-continuity" since they teach knowledge in an insular fashion and make no attempt at integration of either material or academic disciplines. Similarly, implementing single-subject curricula is usually accomplished within a lecture format which diminishes student responsibility and initiative for creative thinking. "The curriculum uses a formal step-by-step study of ideas and facts; rarely are students expected or encouraged to explore or experiment on their own. The teaching methods include extensive verbal activities-lectures, discussions, questions, and answers-and written exercises such as term papers. (Johnson, et al, 1994; pp. 456-457)

Fused curricula, pedagogically a step closer to subject integration, has traditionally decreased the number of standard subjects in any academic discipline. For example, instead of exposing students to the multitudinous array of reading, writing, spelling, grammar, and literature, modern educators have now combined these subjects into a single core subject area called language arts. It is assumed by using fused curricula that students can be exposed to a vast category of knowledge within the expanse of a short time; perhaps in an exploratory module on the middle school level. Fused curricula, however, are not without their problems:

> In reality, the fused curriculum has many of the advantages and disadvantages of the single subject curriculum. Some of the criticisms of the fused curriculum are that (1) compression of several courses into one does not guarantee integration, (2) fusion tends to result in a sketchy knowledge and a watering down of specific disciplines, and (3) with the emphasis on generalization rather than specifics, learning tends to be too abstract. Because of the stress on integration, the rigors of the discipline are not as obvious to the learner, and there is a possibility for the learner to have wide gaps in the specifics of the discipline. (Johnson, et al, 1994; p. 459)

Conversely, performance and portfolio assessments, considered by educators to be student-centered curricula, brings a sense of Dewey's "experience by doing" to the public school methodology. Educators using these assessments are actually employing progressivist principles in their efforts; empowering students for critical decision making and self-generation of instructional matter. Ideally, according to Dewey, students in higher complexities of subject matter should have also developed commensurate capacities for independent study and critique of their work. Performance and portfolio assessments allow students a greater latitude of intellectual freedom which is not accessible either in criterion or norm-referenced testing. Akin to Dewey's precedence in his theories on the student as participant, instructional objectives usually co-written by educator and student for this experience direct the flow of learning, assess techniques and evaluations which quantify the quality of that learning, and illustrate future directions of inquiry possible for new learning situations. As well, enabling objectives related to behavioral goals can be implemented with students having either special needs or categorical disabilities to promote inclusion within the general education classroom:

> Instituting a new instructional program depends on the behaviors of persons other than the classroom teachers, such as paraprofessionals, instructional aides, and administrators. If these behaviors are not clearly defined and provided for, there is little chance that the behaviors of learners will be affected. (Hayman, et al, 1975; p. 33)

A Natural Outgrowth of Dewey's Legacy: Future Pedagogy

In conclusion, though Dewey did not envision contemporary applications of progressivist thinking such as performance and portfolio assessments, they are nevertheless tangentially related to his pioneering efforts. As our world enters an interglobal phase of commerce where collaboration takes place not only in the conference room but also on the Internet, our future educational systems must embrace potentialities for student-generated research on all levels of pedagogy with educators serving as resource personnel to guide their endeavors. Classrooms will become learning centers linked to a global network of communications where students' contributions to world ecology and ethics will no longer be just classroom assignments but precious additions to the accretion of humanistic knowledge. Indeed, mastery items, ". . . used for two purposes: to provide learner practice of the desired outcome and to assess the learner's attainment of the outcome" (Sullivan, et al, 1971; p. 74) will no longer be limited to classroom practice but will be written by a plethora of people from various cultures, ethnicities, and belief systems. We will be entering an age of global interdependence with our continental neighbors both near and far; necessitating a rediscovery and reappropriation of progressivist thinking as we attempt even now to restructure American society to meet futuristic goals of erudition not realized at this present

time. Assuredly, as Huxley predicted, we are at the threshold of a "brave new world." The question remains, however, can we look back to look ahead? Certainly, the question can be answered in the affirmative!

Bibliography (Annotated)

Dewey, John. Experience and Education. (New York: New York; Macmillan Publishing Company; 1938)

In this volume of Dewey's thought, the need and necessity for progressive education is explored with a sharp dichotomy between traditional schemes and newer student-centered pedagogies. Dewey also includes the main tenet of his theory: that students must be participants in the learning process to benefit greatly from public education.

Dworkin, Martin S. Dewey on Education - Selections. (New York: New York; Teachers College Press; 1959)

An excellent introduction to Dewey's progressivism and its effects on both primary and secondary education. Of particular interest is his Pedagogic Creed in which Dewey outlines his beliefs concerning progressive education and its implications.

Hayman, John L. Jr. et al. Evaluation in the Schools: A Human Process for Renewal. (Monterey: California; Brooks/Cole Publishing Company; 1975)

An extensive discussion of performance based assessments and the process by which instructional objectives are achieved within the classroom context. This text is extremely useful for teachers considering a change in pupil evaluation from objective paper and pencil tests to more authentic assessment.

Horne, Herman Harrell. The Democratic Philosophy of Education: Companion to Dewey's Democracy and Education: Exposition and Comment. (New York: New York; The Macmillan Company; 1932)

An erudite discourse on Dewey's philosophical thought, especially as it applies to democratic principles inherent within the American educational system. Horne brilliantly displays the scope of Dewey's interests, including his fascination with ancient Greek culture and their contributions to modern pedagogy.

Johnson, James A. et al. Introduction to the Foundations of American Education: Ninth Edition. (Boston: Massachusetts; Allyn and Bacon; 1994)

This general text on education covers many aspects of the field; from learning theories to divergent philosophies of pedagogy. Concerning Dewey, this text has a good thumbnail sketch of Dewey's progressivism as it is contrasted against the traditional schemes of essentialism which marked the educational process of the latter nineteenth century.

Sullivan, Howard J. Developing Instructional Specifications. (New York: New York; American Book Company; 1971)

A masterful step-by-step procedural outline on how to write and implement performance and portfolio assessments. Specific attention is paid to the writing of assessment plans and instructional objectives from which the pedagogy itself will develop. Certainly, this little booklet is a fine addition to any teacher's library, in addition to serving as a handy text for actual field education.

Corporatizing Work, Education, and Democracy Within Postmodern Praxis

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Introductory Remarks

Personal and social perspectives within the world today are being increasingly shaped by praxis (thought and practices) which has come to be known as postmodern. This seems to be the case in almost all disciplines, fields, and areas of study amassing information toward subsequent discoveries, creations, and inventions of knowledge. These influences have been recognized explicitly, and have been growing in influence and intensity, for most of this century in the West throughout most of the traditional disciplines of knowledge, especially within the human sciences, or regions of investigation more commonly known as the humanities and the social sciences.

Nowhere are these postmodernist influences impacting more strongly in more recent decades than in the further corporatization of work and the labor force, in formal educational contexts, and in the crescendos of the most strident criticisms of what has been thought to be traditional representative democracy. These areas of our lives which are being most heavily impacted by postmodernism are precisely those areas which constitute the concrete and practical quality of the everydayness of our lifeworlds. Yet, these same expressions of corporate life, work, education, and democracy are those dimensions of our lives which have received the least timely attention and analysis in postmodernist terms.

I want to focus on philosophical issues related to corporations, work, education, and democracy in the context of postmodernist critiques. This requires offering a few remarks about conceptions used in defining and restructuring work, the work force, and the workplace. Next, I want to address critical issues relating to the purposes of schooling, workforce preparation, remediation, and retraining. I will also discuss selected issues related to diversity and work (drawing examples from within contexts of gender, class, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, and of the physically challenged). Finally, an analysis of the immense power of modernday corporations in relation to educational institutions, structures, and processes, and in relation to changing conceptions and commitments within the American democracy within the worldview of postmodernism is urgently required at this time, and especially so in adult education contexts.

Postmodernism

I have discussed postmodernism in a number of places.[1] The term postmodernism has come into widespread use in literature, literary criticism, art, music, architecture, history, and many other areas of study. It has become a familiar term in all human science approaches to disciplines, areas, and fields of study, especially in so far as these are relevant to cross-disciplinary concerns, or concerns for re-thinking knowledge across disciplines. Although meanings of the term vary considerably with individual authors' uses of it, the term generally refers to the process of eliminating (or attempting to eliminate) all foundational and certain starting points, any and all firm foundations for establishing value, meaning, and knowledge. The term is used to refer to a

lifeworld, or lived world, in which persons through their literature, art, music, philosophy, and sciences call into serious question all claims to any absolute and certain value and truth which previously might have been perceived, and conceived, to emerge from meaningfulness based on absolutely firm foundations. The term articulates non-causal reasoning and argument, distinguishes between origination and beginnings, and claims that although it might be possible to trace out origination, it is not possible to establish firm and absolute causal-foundational beginnings (Stanage, 1995, pp. 270-71).

The Corporation

A corporation is an embodiment. It is a number of persons united, or perceived as united, in one body, or an embodiment of persons. In the context of law, a corporation is "a body corporate legally authorized to act as a single individual. It is an artificial person created by a royal charter, prescription, or act of legislation, and having authority to preserve certain rights in perpetual succession."[2] In legal terms a corporation stands before the court as a person. I focus particularly on "corporationism," or the system and principle of corporate action(s) as these have evolved to our present day.

I use the term corporation throughout as the most concretely encrustated paradigm of capitalism as Karl Marx presented capitalism through his historical, phenomenological and hermeneutical investigation into the phenomena constituting capitalism and the articulation of the ideology of capitalism. He wrote:

> The apparent absurdity which transforms all the various interrelationships of [persons] into the single relationship of utility, an apparently metaphysical abstraction, follows from the fact that in modern civil society all relationships are in practice subordinated to the single abstract relationship of money and speculation. . . . Holbach represents every activity of individuals in their reciprocal intercourse, e.g., speech, love, etc., as a relation of utility and exploitation. The real relationships which are presupposed are therefore speech, love, etc., i.e., as a relation of utility and exploitation. . . . These relationships are not allowed to have their *own significance* but are depicted as the expression and representation of a third relation which underlies them, *utility or exploitation*. This *paraphrase* only ceases to be senseless and arbitrary when these individual relations no longer have value on their own account, as personal activity, but only as a disguise . . . for a real purpose and relationship which is called the relation of utility. . . . The linguistic masquerade only has sense when it is the conscious or unconscious expression of a real masquerade. In this case, the relation of utility has a very definite meaning, that I profit myself when I harm someone else. Further, in this case, the profit which I gain from a relation is altogether alien to this relationship . . . since from every [natural] ability there is demanded a product which has nothing in common with it. All this is actually the case for the bourgeois. Only one relationship counts for him; that of exploitation. Other relationships only count in so far as he can subsume them under this relationship, and even when he is confronted with relationships which cannot be directly subsumed under this one, at least he subordinates them in illusion. The material expression of this exploitation is money, which represents the values of all objects, [persons] and social relations. . . .

> The complete subsumption of all existing relations under the relation of utility, the apotheosis of this relationship of utility as the sole content of all other relations, first appears in the [English philosopher Jeremy] Bentham, when, after the French Revolution and the development of large-scale industry, the bourgeoisie ceases to be a particular, limited class and emerges as the class whose demands are the demands of the whole of society . . . the economic significance gradually changes the theory of utility into a mere apology of what exists; into a demonstration that under the existing conditions between [persons] are the most advantageous and in the general interest. (Marx, 1964, pp.161-166)

Perhaps much of the evidence discovered through those ponderous archaeological investigations which Marx launched into the embodied minds and spirits of persons--but could hardly complete--makes more sense today, following the collapse of Stalinistic communism (probably a fork in the road toward socialism which Marx himself would never have chosen). I believe that today's corporations generally follow directly from the praxis of utilitarian political economy. The most visible phenomena within this praxis are the thought and practice of degrees and kinds of exploitation: the exploitation of nature and wilderness by persons, the exploitation of one person by another, of communities by persons and of persons by communities and cultures, and the exploitation of all of these by corporations, and the exploitation of corporations by other corporations. And the possible contractions can be even more evident in the cases of given corporations devouring each other and themselves with hostile intent.

Examples of these kinds and degrees of exploitation are all too frighteningly ubiquitous. The rapacious consumption of the planet's non-renewable resources by the most industrialized nations which have privatized the land, the sea, and the air of the planet earth as itself an embodiment of life; speciesism, racism, sexism, ageism, discrimination against those differing sexual orientation, and the marginalizing and invisibilizing of the physically challenged; global wars I and II, regional wars and violent, terrorist actions justified within reigning political hegemonies as the necessary impositions of new world orders, are all *prima facie* examples of this range of exploitation of almost all persons by some persons today.

The Proprietization of Work and the Leased Labor Force

Almost everyone knows of--and probably knows of someone intimately affected by--the corporate "down-sizing," "smart-sizing," and "right-sizing" the numbers of workers employed by those corporations, such that hundreds of thousands of workers have lost jobs and salaries never again to be equalled during their remaining lifetimes. The numbers of jobless workers born of the corporatizing exploitation of workers in pursuit of the goal of maximization of corporate profit and capital each month, approach the outrages of the limits of pornographic displays of corporate power[3] of the few over the many.

"Work" increasingly has become corporatized, and therefore privatized, commodified through mis-directed valorizations of expertness, specialization, and professionalization. Every person values the art, the craft, and science (and, yes, therefore the *magic*) of making sense in making things through human valuings in union with nature. But when the standards of value and these processess of creation are objectified and evilly disassociated from their personal and communal sources by the rich and super-rich, behemoth multinational and global corporate complexes

experiencing the creation of meaning, alienation of persons from their work surfaces through felt phenomena of self-estrangement, meaninglessness, purposelessness, normlessness, and social isolation.

Marx investigated these phenomena of persons forceably and heedlessly separated from their work, and therefore from their natural springs, and offered as reasons not the natural behavior of human beings, but the learned behavior of those with increasing power. He investigated the perceived phenomena of (1) the inevitability of progress and the irrational propaganda of human nature as instinctually acquisitive of power, and (2) the uses and abuses of money and surplus value. He found that the former were the fantasies of the hegemonic power elite and that the latter were justified only through the formulation of the abstract notion of the principle of utility--itself an abstraction torn from the communal and cooperative fabrics of the hearts and minds and spirits of individual men and women. And we--unless we are numbered among the rich and the super-rich--are the beneficiaries of "work" which belongs increasingly to someone else. And we are the alienated recipients of less and less money, while ever more constraining forces and restrained liberties shackle us.

We are "human capital," commodifications to be transmogrified repetitiously throughout our lifetimes by the utility-driven requirements of human resource and development cost centers of corporate cultural life. Paradoxically, whereas money capital as surplus value is the holy grail of corporate culture, human capital as surplus value is just that--surplus and sullied goods, and of decreasing value, even while there is more and more "human capital" on the very global scale which is the global corporate frontier ever to be "won".

Education and Adult Education

As educators, and especially as adult educators, generally we have systematically furthered this evolution of capitalism and its special paradigm of corporatization laid out in Marx's phenomenological investigations, and we have accomplished it all at the behest of the rich and powerful elites at the expense of the laborer. Indeed, with the unknowing acquiescence of those we rhetorically serve, we have sped up the process of fashioning ways and means of further constraining and restraining persons as "human capital."

Thomas Vincere (1994) has discussed the ways in which adult educators have done this.[4] He quotes Phyllis Cunningham's call for a critique of a variety of approaches to human resource development in "order to determine whether HRD should be abandoned or reevaluated by adult educators. He points out that she questions whether HRD is a "sell out" of educators to the "bottom line" of profits often at the expense of women, non-white, and the poor, or if there are different models providing a more utopian view (Cunningham, 1992).

Vincere claims that

> . . . HRD paradigms utilizing deficit models of learning design, embodying questionable ideologies driven by organizational productivity, and lacking the impetus and means for real, structural transformation of organizations, have contributed to the deskilling of work; they have provided management with a tool to control workers, work itself, and the

> way it is organized; they have controlled the production and reproduction of knowledge, especially as it relates to the capitalist ideology; they have contributed to the objectification of the worker as human capital; and they have have perpetuated gender, racial, ethnic, and classist inequalities. Adult educators working within these HRD systems, designing training programs using the accompanying learning design models have, in fact, auctioned their expertise in service of company profit marins. Such "educators" are accomplices to the ascendancy of 'learning for earning' as Cunningham charges (1992), and must reevaluate their role in adult education. (Vincere, 1994)

This passage sums up a good deal of contemporary adult education very nicely. I believe that we truly know better, that we should have done it all differently. And we truly know that it is not too late to try to do the right thing. But too many of us have been living lives of "bad faith"[5] as educators and adult educators.

Democracy

Almost all local, state, and national planning, budgeting, and allocation of resources is performed in accord with the guiding principle of utilitarian political economy, the principal moral theory of our time, and a direct descendent of the formulation by the utilitarian moral theoriests, English philosophers Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. There are many other moral and ethical theories which have been identified as being in use and which have been investigated for millennia all over the world, but in our time in the United States it is not one or another of this great variety of ethical moral theories typically in use in public policies and public planning, but the single, solitary moral theory of utilitarian political economy.

This particular monopolization of value and meaning cannot be justified either on moral grounds or rational debate. It appears to be held and valorized by that peculiar tenacity generated through mere longevity of praxis in use and special privileges of the rich and super rich.

One might ask which came upon the scene first in the evolution of the United States, corporatization or the inculcation of the principle of utilitarian political economy? Marx's answer was unequivocal: the principle of utilitarian political economy came first as an abstraction ripped from the lived worlds of persons, and in its train the stampede of the corporatization of America, before the privatization and corporatizing creation of the United States of America itself. Clearly, we Americans never have had a genuinely representative democracy.

What we have always had has been an oligarchic economic capitalism, and this has never been as transparently obvious as it is today. And this form of oligarchic economic capitalism is more completely corporatized than ever before.

A postmodern critique of *representational democracy* is understandable since there is more than enough about our "democracy" to critique, including its earliest foundations and our own continuing genocidal treatment of our first Americans, and our accelerating rapacious treatment of our environment and its bountifulness. In postmodern critiques what is most genuinely real cannot be *re-presented* in the first place. Moreover, corporatized America already conforms to postmodernist critiques of it, and therefore provides rich sedimentation of phenomena, including

all of the textures and texts of popular culture, as evidence of the accuracy of postmodernist interpretations.

Concluding Remarks

The landscapes of corporatized America, the netscapes of its technologies, and the very inscapes of the corporate mind conform to the most relevant descriptions by postmodernists of persons living out lives torn from their rootedness. Anything goes, and nothing authentically matters beyond immediate self indulgence, since all that is the chimerical rhetoric of discourse fed through commercial sound and sight bytes as felt and experienced in some important degree by us all--especially by all of us who purport to facilitate the ways of others as they come to read and to language the word of the world.

But I guess what I really want to say in the end is this: In the face of postmodernist accounts of all that is, and especially after Auschwitz (as Lyotard said), after Buchenwald, after Dachau, and after all of the genocidal ridding of "others" by those in power at some time or other, what has replaced whatever "truth" and "knowledge" we're supposed to have known? What were adult educators doing with "truth" and "knowledge" before Auschwitz? What have they done with "truth" and "knowledge" since then?

And what should they have done? What ought they do now?

Endnotes

1. See, for example, Sherman M. Stanage, "Lifelong Learning: A Phenomenology of Meaning and Transformation in Postmodern Adult Education," in Sharan B. Merriam, ed., *Selected Writings on Philosophy and Adult Education*, 2nd edition, Malabar, Florida, Krieger Publishing Company, 1955, pp. 269-280; Sherman M. Stanage, "Charles Sanders Peirce's Pragmaticism and Praxis of Adult Learning Theory: Signs, Interpretation, and Learning How to Learn in the Postmodern Age, *Thresholds*, Vol. XX, Nos. 2 and 3 (May and August), 1994, pp.10-17; and Sherman M. Stanage, "Popular Education as Adult Education Within Postmodernism," *Thresholds*, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (August), 1995, pp. 38-44.

2. I am guided by the definitions and citations found in *The Oxford English Dictionary* in my account here. A particularly telling passage in *The OED* illustrates the royal hegemony of power embodied in the British Corporation Act of 1661. This act required "all persons holding municipal offices to acknowledge the royal supremacy, to abjure resistance to the king . . . and making ineligible for office all persons who had not within a year partaken of the communion as administered by the Church of England."

3. See Lionel Rubinoff, *The Pornography of Power*, Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1968, *passim*, but especially pp.7-9, 28, 42, 48, 50, and 104-106. For example, a statement on the book jacket reads, "Mr. Rubinoff is concerned with two central ideas: progress and power, both of which have had a deep and lasting influence on the course of Western history. The progress ideology, says the author, has replaced the pursuit for truth with the pursuit for power. And just as sexual taboos have brought about pornography to satisfy the demands of fantasy, so the repression of the

irrationality of power in our world today leads only to its pornographic enjoyment--war, racism, and violence." And I would add, the pornographic enjoyment of power through the corporate exploitation of the accelerating process of job elimination in the concrete oddessy toward the abstract, pure truth of the utility-driven "bottom line."

Rubinoff quotes (pp. 47-48) American author Susan Sontag as she writes about the genocidal tendencies displayed by newly arrived early "Americans." They "arrived in a country where the indigenous culture was simply the enemy and was in process of being ruthlessly annihilated, and where nature, too, was the enemy, a pristine force, unmodified by civilization, that is by human wants, which had to be defeated. After America was 'won,' it was filled up by new generations of the poor, and built up according to the tawdry fantasy of the good life that culturally deprived, up-rooted people might have at the beginning of the industrial era." The American Way of Life--in truth, the American Dream--has evolved from an "energy source that is simply pathological. Basically it is the energy of violence, of re-floating resentment and anxiety unleashed by chronic cultural dislocations which must be, for the most part, ferociously sublimated. This energy has mainly been sublimated into crude materialism and acquisitiveness. Into hectic philanthropy. Into benighted moral crusades, the most spectacular of which was Prohibition. Into an awesome talent for uglifying countryside and cities. Into the loquacity and torment of a minority of gadflies, artists, prophets, muchrakers, cranks, and nuts. And into self-punishing neuroses. But the naked violence keeps breaking through, throwing everything into question. (Susan Sontag, "What's Happening to America," Symposium, *Partisan Review*, Winter, 1967, p. 52.)

4. In his "An Analysis of Knowledge Production and Organizational Change Within Four Approaches to Human Resource Development," *Thresholds*, Vol. XX, Nos. 2 and 3 (May and August), 1994.

5. In Jean-Paul Sartre's *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology*, "bad faith" is "a lie to oneself within the unity of a single consciousness. Through bad faith a person seeks to escape the responsible freedom of Being-for-itself. Bad faith rests on a vacillation between transcendence and facticity which refuses to recognize either one for what it really is or to synthesize them" (p. 628).

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Rural People, Rural Communities, and Sustainability:
Rethinking the Role of Adult Educaiton

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Background

In September, 1995, employees at Amana's refrigeration assembly plant in Amana, Iowa, went on strike for three days (September 25-28, 1995) in an effort to negotiate a more favorable contract between their union and management. One of their major issues was mandatory overtime. In a county where unemployment often drops below 2% (Economic Trends), the available labor supply is small. To compound this labor shortage, state unemployment has been fluctuating around 3.5%. While this imbalance between available jobs and available labor is severe, Iowa's wage rate for newly created jobs is uncharacteristically low, between minimum wage and $8.50 per hour. In 1994, the average weekly income per job for the entire state, including urban counties was $427/job. In the twelve counties I serve, the average weekly income per county ranged from $494/job in urban Linn County (which includes Cedar Rapids) to $305/job in rural Jackson County. Across the state the rural counties consistently report low weekly wages with several falling below $300/job (Iowa annual employment and wages).

While economic theory would suggest that this type of balance between unemployment and wages will lead to pay and salary increases, the reality is far different. For the Amana employees, one incentive to accept management's offer and return to work was management's threat to move the factory to Tennessee. Whereas Amana was once an Iowa-owned business, it is now owned by Raytheon Corporation, a multi-national corporation that has an idle factory in Tennessee which seems to be most useful in leveraging employee contract agreements when the opportunity arises. Ironically, the only adult education program that I am aware of in the Amana case, as is true with most labor disputes and plant closings, is displaced worker and ABE/GED programs.

In this paper I attempt to better understand the role of adult education in Iowa via a phenomenological investigation. The structure of my analysis is a closely woven relationship between secondary data such as census, labor and educational statistics, and heuristic experiences that might be challenged on both a political and economic level but are unassailable on a human and sociological level. I make no pretense to the objectivity of this paper nor do I assume any level of universal truth. Why? In Iowa as well as the rest of the nation there is a war of perception occurring among a multitude of ideological camps, more complex than Democrat vs. Republican, liberal vs. conservative, organized labor vs. free traders, or individual freedom vs. communitarism. This battle ground is located on that fine line between perception and reality. My thesis is that adult education practitioners are not participating in this inextricably crucial battle of values and mores that lie at the core of the problem. Rather they are busy applying inane bandages, such as literacy education to unwed mothers, or GED classes to laid-off workers.

Global vs. Local

NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) has considerable influence upon economic dynamics in rural areas of the Midwest. While the region will most likely realize significant gains in agricultural commodity prices, we are losing quality jobs. In a sustainable economy, Iowa has a distinct advantage in raising corn, soybeans, and pork. These commodities can be exported or their by-products can be exported. In a non-sustainable economy, both technology and manufacturing can be easily exported to areas, such as Mexico, where labor cost can be cut significantly (Breimyer, May 1995). Iowa has been both a gainer and loser in the de-industrialization of America. While many companies have relocated to Iowa from the rustbelt in an effort to break unions and exploit cheap labor, the Amana example shows how once loyal, homegrown companies have evolved to multi-national corporations where their new allegiance is to the "bottom line" in the unending search for cheap labor (Gaventa, 1988).

States contribute to this chaos by offering lucrative tax incentives and relocation packages, as do individual communities and counties. The result is an interminable war of all against all, where the loser is often the community who wins the new factory. By offering large incentive packages, communities are betting on the hope that new jobs will compensate or off-set tax abatements and other gifts by creating new jobs and economic activity down turn. Yet, if these jobs pay less than a subsistence wage then employees become eligible for food, health, and housing subsidies--another way of defining the working poor juxtaposed against corporate welfare. The Northwest Foundation reports that a single parent with two children requires a minimum of $10.23/hour for a subsistence wage position (Northwest Report). Few new factory jobs in Iowa offer this wage, especially for entry-level. In order for a worker to survive at these wage levels, he or she must have other income (for example, spouse must have a job, or the worker must have a second job), or the community must subsidize the worker's wage with entitlements.

In terms of real dollars, Iowans are earning less per hour then they were a decade ago (BEARFACTS, 1995). This industrial/wage transformation can be seen in the meat packing industry. Once a strong source of good paying jobs, over the last two decades the meat packing unions have either been broken or diminished to a state of impotency. As wages have plummeted, Iowans are no longer taking these jobs. Hence the packing companies have imported non-traditional workers (mostly Latino, Mexican, or Southeast Asian) who are not only willing to work at these wages but are docile in the face of workplace conditions (Rachleff, 1993). Whereas pork producers benefit from having many packing plants close by to bid for their hogs, rural communities are beginning to question the benefits of such an industry. Local dreams of economic revitalization are dashed as long-term residents refuse to take the new jobs. New workers are therefore imported who not only will work full-time but also become eligible for many social transfer payments, such as foodstamps, school lunch programs, subsidized housing, and health care. Moreover, traditional Iowans look on and become angry not at the companies but at the workers. Because these new workers are brown and speak a non-English language, Iowans are accused of being racists, while these corporations enjoy the benefits of this subsidized labor.

If we examine the ripple effect of these jobs, the economic web becomes even more complex. In the meat-packing example, if Iowans begin to force the packers (who for the most part are owned

by IBP, Cargill, and Monfort-Swift) to be accountable, the new technology in meat packing allows them to move almost anywhere in the country, or the world. If they move, pork farmers will be critically hurt. Iowa is one of the last strongholds of family-owned farms. Over the last five years there has been a rapid expansion of corporate farms established on the edge of the Midwest cornbelt in places like North Carolina, Texas, and Utah, where cheaper labor is available, and environmental regulations are weaker. If Iowa loses its packing plants, these family farms lose their economic advantage because of increased transportation costs and fewer packing plants where pigs could be sold. Hence, Iowans are understandably willing to look the other direction when it comes time to hold these multi-national corporations accountable. We have no choice; we are all to some degree being held hostage by the ability of corporations to move their technology and financial investment to other parts of the world.

Meatpacking plants are just one example. Let's briefly examine the economics of family farming and it's relationship to labor. While Iowa is one of the largest agricultural states in the United States, following California and Texas in total agricultural production, most farm families require an off-farm wage so they can continue farming. Following Hart's (1992) logic about the perfection of housewives and mothers as the perfect form of exploited labor, independent producers (family farmers) share many of the same characteristics. They are not mobile beyond a daily commute of approximately 60 miles radius. Paid work is something one gets off the farm, not on the farm. The spouse works off the farm, supporting the children with a second income but diminishing the family's quality of life. Ironically, even though Iowa agriculture is often characterized by family farms, the average farm of say 360 acres producing corn, soybeans, grains, and some livestock will not sustain a family. Many experts say this is a small farm by today's standards. Therefore, if a family decides that their number one priority is to keep the family farm, then one option is too seek off-farm income. Although, there may be more than one potential job to select from, they will all be low-paying. We also are beginning to see signs of dysfunctional family life in rural communities. Recently I facilitated a planning process with a citizen group in a small town of 350 that has about 140 children under age 16. Over the last year the county sheriff's office has received complaints on 50 of these children for minor offenses such as trespassing and vandalism. Most of these children are unattended by an adult between the time school lets out and parents arrive home from work at approximately 6:30 PM.

Re-examining the unemployment figures presented at the beginning of this section reveals that there are workers to fill jobs. These workers are farmers and their spouses, and other rural residents who are not unemployed, but rather under-employed and overworked.

Why Adult Education No Longer Makes Sense

Is education the problem behind this economic malaise? Are workers lacking in skills and basic educational ability? Actually the opposite is true. Iowa public schools always rank among the top states across the country on ACT test scores (1995 report), and are recognized across the nation as having a well-funded, well-functioning educational system. Iowa is blessed with strong public universities, a well-developed community college system, over twenty private liberal arts colleges, and in general a large financial commitment to education. Iowa can modestly claim to have a highly educated, skilled workforce with a reputedly strong work ethic, characteristic of an agrarian society.

Adult education in Iowa is relegated, for the most part, to education for the disadvantaged. It manifests itself as ABE, GED, and JPTA. When I'm in a room full of adult educators they almost invariable are professionals within the social service network, providing education for pregnant teenagers, handicapped, inner-city minority students, rural poor, and learning disabled. Adult education is closely tied to the Iowa State Department of Education and community colleges. It is as institutionalized as is the rest of public education in Iowa. I have also observed that most professionals, although well meaning and committed educators, have had almost no exposure to adult education's historical and theoretical roots. This is technical functional adult education, pure and simple.

While the conservative talk-show pundits assure their listening audiences that the economic restructuring of the United States will enable and empower the educated and skilled worker, the reality in the rural Midwest is not so congruent. Education does not necessarily correlate to economic security. Perhaps we can argue that economic exploitation is both color blind and class blind. Is education merely the opiate of the people? As an educated person, am I immune to exploitation? Will education enable me to rise above social and economic malaise to individual independence? Will I be able to critically evaluate and creatively seek solutions to problems? With educational opportunity so abundant throughout society, especially to rural, white citizens in the Midwest, shouldn't we be able to measure, in terms of benchmarks, the economic return of this type of capital investment?

Most professional educators would attack this type of logic as simplistic, pollyannic, and without merit. Yet, these same professionals ask us, as tax payers and parents, to trust them and continue to raise funding levels of public education. Their argument is that a strong educational system is essential to the economic health of the state. There is this implicit argument that education and economic development go hand and hand. Yet, it appears that economic exploitation is not deterred just because one is educated, or because a community or a society is educated. As Horace Mann articulated nearly 175 years ago, public education serves to inculcate and homogenize a culturally diverse society to the values of the dominant culture. While in Horace Mann's life-time the culture was white Protestant land owners and managers, today this dominant culture arguably is corporate America and government. Education may in fact stifle social criticism, individual creativity, and eccentric thought. In Iowa, this scenario is born out by the fact that Iowans rank 47th in new business startups and entrepreneurism (Moldt, June 1995). Hence Iowans are forced to become dependent upon state government and corporate investment to provide economic opportunity.

Social Capital and Social Change

Public education, including adult education, may in part explain the complex contradictions between full-employment, low wages, and high educational levels. If adult education is relevant to social and economic development, what should its focus be? Public policy, and strategies to participate in the development of public policy, should be the focus. If adult education is to be true to its historical tradition, what should its goal be? I believe it should empower Iowans so they might build a sustainable Iowa. Although in 1995 Iowa appears to be rebounding from its devastating losses from the mid-1980's farm crises, it is of interest to note that 38 of Iowa's 100 counties had their highest population numbers before 1900, less than a dozen counties have

experienced population growth over the last decade, and that most economic growth is limited to two major urban areas. The problems of community development are deep-seated, without simple solutions.

In an effort to expand the community development paradigm, there is a group of us in Iowa State University's Extension to Communities (Whitmer, Sept. 1995) looking at social capital as a determinant factor in building a sustainable community. While the language of social capital has been recently popularized by Harvard Professor Robert Putnum, the concept is historically consistent with the sociological and philosophical precepts put forth by John Dewey, C. Wright Mills, and Eduard Lindeman, to name only a few. First, let's define what a healthy community is. A healthy community has a high level of shared decision making, and an ability to sustain itself without being dependent upon outside entities such as government. Within the framework of shared decision-making, adult education becomes an instrument of democratic change.

Iowa State University's Extension to Communities' project theorizes that communities can be analyzed and mapped from four major inter-dependent perspectives: physical capital, human capital, environmental capital, and social capital. Capital is any resource capable of producing new resources. Strengthening physical and human capital has comprised the core of most economic and community development efforts. Little effort is being spent to change the environment because of the prohibitive level of minimum financial investment. Social capital is a new concept in community development that has not been tested within rural community development.

Physical capital includes much of what is often called manufactured and financial infrastructure. Human-made inputs such as factories used in production, private and public capital goods such as buildings and homes are components of physical capital, as well as financial assets such as stocks, bonds, savings and investment moneys. Sewers, roads, telecommunication networks, electric and other energy sources, are all forms of infrastructure classified as physical capital. Most community development strategies focus on ways to increase physical capital. For example, improving sewer systems, increasing electrical generating capacity, improving mainstreet appearance, and building industrial parks with "spec" buildings for future industries to re-locate into are strategies that emphasize physical capital. Yet, the most powerful forms of physical capital, financial and technological, are easily moved from one location to another and, therefore, difficult to secure within a community of limited means. Hence, when a multi-national corporation decides to locate agricultural processing plants in your home town, they control both the financial and technological capital, which they can re-locate again and again, depending upon variables totally independent of any single community. It is of minor consequence in their decision-making process whether or not they own or lease the plant, buildings, or land. An example has been the world-wide monopolization of the poultry industry by giants such as Tyson Foods, or of hog production in North Carolina. In both cases the independent producer has no access to either processing or markets, as the corporation controls production, processing and marketing.

Human capital includes individual capacity as measured by education, skill and technical expertise, human health, and work ethic. Some cynics would also add to this list the level of worker/citizen docility. In Iowa, as is true of most of the Midwest, we like to think that we have

a very high level of human capital. As noted earlier in this paper, Iowans possess one of the best educational-systems in the country if not the world. We are mostly white, with deeply ingrained middle class values, which some would argue translate to strong work ethic, low attrition, and high commitment to self-motivation and company allegiance. Yet, human capital is grossly over-rated as an incentive to corporations. Again we can look at how agricultural processing migrates not to where the highest quality human capital resides, but to where labor is cheapest and least confrontational. This scenario is perfectly illustrated in the history of development in the Maqulidoras in northern Mexico. The only human capital that migrates from Iowa is our "best and brightest" children, who having benefited from our education system are unfortunately forced to seek opportunity as adults outside of Iowa.

Iowa is also rich in environmental capital. This advantage cannot be exported and, through democratic processes, can be controlled by Iowans. In general, we have clean air, plentiful fresh water, some of the most fertile soils in the world, strong biodiversity, and beautiful scenery. And, in terms of water and air quality, over the last two decades much attention, research and investment has been expended to reduce pesticide and herbicide use, to reduce tillage on steep slopes and fragile lands, thereby reducing soil erosion, and to reduce emissions from factories and processing plants. Location is another aspect of environmental capital. While Iowa is not densely populated, is has excellent highways, rail service, river barge, and airline access to the rest of the country and the world. While it is relatively easy to move human and physical capital, environmental capital, especially our soils and climate, must be factored into any formula for a sustainable community and economy. Yet, without democratic participation, citizens are at risk of losing control of their environmental capital through the industrialization of agriculture (Breimyer, November 1995).

The fourth pillar underlying a community is what we call social capital. We can measure social capital by levels of volunteerism, shared symbols, and mutual trust. Whereas vertical social capital adheres to hierarchical forms of leadership and oligarchic cliques such as "the old boy's club," horizontal social capital requires egalitarian forms of reciprocity. Questions that address levels of social capital include: How well does a community, group or organization welcome new people and new ideas? Whose voice is being heard, only chamber of commerce members, city council, or school board members? Is there an age, gender, racial, and economic-class balance in idea generation and decision making? Are lower income people who might live in the mobile home court participating in community activities and organizations, or are they just viewed as part of the problem? How well do banks and other financial institutions support community projects? Is a community willing to invest in betterment projects? Another variable, that is harder to visualize for many people, is how a community distributes income. Is there great separation between different economic classes? How are entitlements distributed? What is the ratio of jobs to income generated through self-development projects to those generated through industrial recruitment?

One example of social capital that is very concrete in the rural Midwest is how a community views the wage level of local jobs. Since the early 1980s, rural people have seen a decline of number of family farms, deterioration is small town services, a scarcity in high wage/quality jobs, a decline in investment, and an increase in the number of families migrating to urban areas for greener pastures. The results have been that communities are willing to pay dearly for new

jobs with tax abatements, free land, free sewer and electrical hook-ups, and free worker training programs through community colleges. Believing that their negotiating position is very weak, communities are asking very little in return for these considerations. They are willing to sell their labor very cheaply, thinking that any job is better than no job. As a result, many new jobs cost communities more than they provide. A benchmark for social capital is a community's capacity to come together with all major stakeholders and assess the quality of jobs before it commits public resources. To date, this is seldom if ever done at the community-wide level.

Adult Education for Social Change

As I drive through the pastoral scenery of Iowa with the well manicured farm yards and the clean, symmetric fields of corn and soybeans, I wonder what the future has in store for my children. Will they be able to grow up and settle here as adults? If they wanted to, will they be able to farm? Will their views be accepted if they think independently?

The future for adult education in Iowa is not with institutional forms of parent education, ABE/GED, or displaced worker programs, nor is it with human resource development. Rather it is with democratic social change. Today, this arena is in the sustainable community concept, which emphasizes the central importance of maintaining profitable family farms, small town economies, and local control over rural issues. Although family farms conjure romantic visions, and small town life has a certain level of appeal, socio-economic projections indicate that up to 40% of Iowa family farms will be lost over the next five years to retirement and default, and that some small towns are no longer worth the investment of public resources. Everyone agrees that this land will be farmed. Probably large operators will farm the land, planting only corn on corn, or corn and soybeans, hurting both biodiversity and rural communities. These type of farming operation do not create jobs, utilize the local grain cooperative, or veterinarian, or hardware store, but do contribute to the further depopulation of rural communities. Without family farms, there is no purpose for some rural communities.

Adult educators can enjoin and facilitate this public debate at both the local level and state level. These adult education questions center on policy as well as practice. Today in Iowa there is a tremendous feeling of defeat among family farmers and rural residents, as if their fate is already written. Last fall in a focus group of eight family farmers, not one was encouraging their children to take up farming. Too much risk, too little security, and too much work were the comments most often expressed. The role of the adult educator might be to facilitate a dialogue between social scientists, economists, and politicians with the everyday people who farm and live in Iowa's rural communities. Through an authentic dialogue, as Freire suggests, creative solutions might emerge that preserve the family farm and rural community while enabling all of Iowa to prosper. As it is now, the dialogue is being controlled by corporate interests. They control financial and technological capital, as well as the political process at state and federal levels.

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